

The Scholarship of Sandra Coney

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the scholarship of Sandra Coney from the 1970s through to the present day. I argue that Coney's scholarship has made an important contribution to understanding New Zealand society from a feminist perspective. Coney's scholarship provides an important representation of feminism. Through her scholarship Coney has constantly questioned dominant ideals within New Zealand society. The recovery of New Zealand women's history has also been a focus of Coney's scholarship. This thesis examines New Zealand's feminist magazine *Broadsheet*, to which Coney contributed numerous articles from the beginning of the second wave feminist movement. It also draws upon archival sources and Coney's extensive published books. What influenced Coney's work and the context of time periods is discussed and analysed. Key themes suggested by Coney's scholarship are the importance of: women's voices and experiences, women having authority over their own representation, a second wave feminist perspective of New Zealand society, and the importance of recovering the past and recording it for the future.

List of Abbreviations

ACWA	Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs
ALRANZ	Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand
AMAC	Auckland Medical Aid Centre
AWHC	Auckland Women's Health Council
COW	Committee on Women
CSA	Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act
DPB	Domestic Purposes Benefit
IUD	Intrauterine Device
IWY	International Women's Year
NWH	National Women's Hospital
SOS	Sisters Overseas Service
SPUC	Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child
TVNZ	Television New Zealand
THAW	The Health Alternatives for Women
UWC	United Women's Convention
WL	Women's Liberation
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Introduction

As the work of someone who was heavily involved with the New Zealand second wave feminist movement from its origins, Sandra Coney's scholarship provides great insight into the position of New Zealand women. This is not only from the times of her involvement within the movement, but also the position of New Zealand women from earlier times through the stories that have been recovered. Central to her work is the belief that the history of New Zealand women had an important place in the conscience of New Zealand second wave feminists.

Sandra Coney's scholarship presents a feminist perspective of New Zealand society which challenged preconceptions, and spoke on a public level for a generation of women. This generation of women fought hard to overcome gender inequality, and more broadly different forms of oppression. The New Zealand second wave feminist movement was intertwined with what was happening in New Zealand society. The context at this time is important – the 'New Right,' protest era e.g. Springbok Tour and the Maori movement, government policies and legislation, and the increased interest in women's history at certain times, being such examples. Coney's scholarship was produced in an environment where there was much challenge in regards to the social, cultural and political arenas of New Zealand society. New Zealand women were the central focus of much of Coney's scholarship, and it is interesting to see how the various texts created were interpreted at the time they were produced, and how these texts are interpreted from a perspective more distanced from those times.

Sandra Coney was one of many New Zealand feminists who contributed to the New Zealand second wave feminist movement. This does not suggest that Coney's work is insignificant; on the contrary, what Coney's scholarship allows for is an in-depth representation of the movement from her perspective, in the context of those times in New Zealand society and the people she was acquainted with. Coney appeared to be on a similar 'wave length' to the feminists she worked with.¹ Although, it would be inaccurate to say that every feminist shared the same perspective because

¹ Christine Dann, *Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin: Port Nicholson Press, 1985). Dann acknowledged Sandra Coney's influence in her acknowledgments section.

acknowledgement of difference came to be an important aspect of this movement. Further reasons why her work deserves greater recognition include the way Coney used her public position to support many individuals. She had a high level of experience with feminist activism, and she had the respect of her fellow feminists. The voices of various feminists are interwoven throughout this analysis, and I think that this demonstrates how connected these women were with their objectives, whilst allowing room for debate at the same time. It would be impossible to write a thesis about Coney's scholarship without taking into account the second wave feminist movement and the feminists who were part of that movement alongside Coney.

The sources primarily used in this analysis include articles that Sandra Coney contributed to New Zealand's feminist magazine *Broadsheet* (1972-1997), as well as the diverse and extensive amount of published books that Coney has produced. Another source that will receive some attention throughout this thesis is an archive collection which was donated to the Alexander Turnbull Library by Coney (referred to throughout this thesis as the Sandra Coney Papers). Drawing upon this collection allows for an interesting observation of certain aspects of the second wave feminist movement. These sources convey how a space for women was made, whether it was through having a feminist-run publication, historic research that included women's stories that had not been told before, or being part of collaborative women's projects, and the act of record keeping.² A noticeable feature of Coney's scholarship was that connections were often made between the work she produced in terms of the topic discussed and the second wave feminist movement. Her published books were often seen worthy of feminist reflection within the feminist framework of *Broadsheet* magazine, for example, discussions of her newly released books and book reviews. Coney also wrote a number of newspaper and journal articles over the years, however, the main focus of this thesis included *Broadsheet* magazine articles, published books and the Sandra Coney Papers.³

Major themes were conveyed through Sandra Coney's scholarship, which are discussed throughout this thesis. These include women's voices and experiences being positioned

² Sandra Coney, Christine Dann and Phillida Bunkle have submitted archive collections to New Zealand libraries.

³ Although Sandra Coney's published books *Out of the Frying Pan: Inflammatory Writings 1972-89* (Auckland: Penguin, 1990), and *Into the Fire: Writings on Women, Politics and New Zealand in the Era of the New Right* (North Shore City: Tandem Press, 1997), included various newspaper articles.

as a priority, as well as the need for authority over the representation of women (and the second wave feminist movement itself). Additional points of discussion are the importance of the feminist contribution to understanding New Zealand society from an alternative perspective from the mainstream, and New Zealand women's history being made a high priority in regards to recovering the past and recording it for the future by second wave feminists.

This thesis is organised into four chapters which highlight the themes mentioned in the previous paragraph. Chapter One, 'Historiography and the New Zealand Second Wave Feminist Movement' provides context for Sandra Coney's scholarship. Chapter Two, 'Second Wave Feminism and *Broadsheet* Magazine' pays close attention to Coney's contribution to *Broadsheet* magazine, 1972-1997. These articles conveyed the position of New Zealand women and are a representation of important aspects of the second wave feminist movement. Chapter Three, 'Challenging the Dominant – Women's Health,' examines the consideration of feminism and the position of women in the late 1980s/1990s, with an emphasis on health. Women's Health is important because it is one example of where women have had to challenge the dominant. Chapter Four, 'Recovering Herstory,' looks at the importance of New Zealand women's history, and the act of remembrance, in connection with the second wave feminist movement. But first, it is relevant to look at the historiography of the New Zealand second wave feminist movement, which sets the scene for the forthcoming chapters.

Chapter One: Historiography and the New Zealand Second Wave Feminist Movement

Introduction

This account of the historiography of the New Zealand second wave feminist movement aims to provide an insight into how the feminist movement that Sandra Coney was greatly involved with has been depicted within the key secondary literature and its overall significance. New Zealand second wave feminist historiography is unique. It has been largely produced by second wave feminists themselves and based on reflections of being part of this movement. The key secondary literature suggests that there were certain aspects of the second wave feminist movement that have become mandatory points of discussion. These include influences of involvement in the feminist movement, gender inequality, collective aims and challenges.

Publications depicting the New Zealand second wave feminist movement indicate that the contribution made by New Zealand feminists to the understanding of the movement was highly significant. Significant texts which will be drawn on, and were created during the late 1980s and early 1990s, include: *Up From Under: Women and Liberation in New Zealand, 1970-1985* by Christine Dann, *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement, 1970-1990* edited by Christine Dann and Maud Cahill, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand: Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu* edited by Anne Else, *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit: and Other Tales From the Feminist Revolution* edited by Sue Kedgley and Mary Varnham, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993* selected and introduced by Charlotte Macdonald, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote* edited by Sandra Coney, and *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*¹ selected and introduced by Pat Rosier.² Understanding the reasons why these feminist texts emerged

¹ Also referred to as *Been Around for Quite a While*.

² Christine Dann, *Up From Under*; Christine Dann and Maud Cahill, *Changing Our Lives: Women Working in the Women's Liberation Movement, 1970-1990*, eds. Christine Dann and Maud Cahill (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991); Anne Else, *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand: Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu*, ed. Anne Else (Wellington: Historical

at this time is an interesting aspect of New Zealand second wave feminist literature, and becomes explicit through the explanations given by their authors.

Significance of the second wave feminist movement is also acknowledged within general New Zealand history. Here publications position the movement within a broader context of New Zealand society and the 1970s 'counter-culture' times. In their accounts of the movement, New Zealand historians have predominantly referred to the scholarship of Christine Dann (*Up From Under*), Charlotte Macdonald (*The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*) and Sandra Coney (*Standing in the Sunshine*). And in their more recent chapter on the second wave feminist movement, Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow more prominently drew on the collaborative feminist projects *Changing Our Lives* and *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*. Michael King reflected on the 'counter-culture' time period, and argued that "like the counter-culture, the main achievement of the women's movement was its role in changing the attitudes of mainstream New Zealand society, but in this case to sex roles, equality of opportunity and equal pay."³ Jock Phillips similarly noted that "these young people were encouraged to think for themselves and to question. They were exposed to ideas from the international community of learning."⁴ The 1970s was identified as an important time period where women made a stand.⁵ Philippa Mein Smith described how "feminists set out to transform society to free women from the bonds of home and family." It was "shifting family relations and the altered status of women by the 1970s" which influenced the growth of second wave feminism.⁶ James Belich stated that "it is interesting to note that both it and the first wave accompanied the two major systematic shake-ups of modern New Zealand history: the advents of recolonisation and

Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993); Sue Kedgley and Mary Varnham, *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit: and Other Tales from the Feminist Revolution*, eds. Sue Kedgley and Mary Varnham (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1993); Charlotte Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New Zealand, 1869-1993*, selected and introduced by Charlotte Macdonald (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993); Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, ed. Sandra Coney (Auckland: Penguin, 1993); Pat Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, selected and introduced by Pat Rosier (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1992).

³ Michael King, "A Revolution Begun," in *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (North Shore: Penguin Books, 2003), 463.

⁴ Jock Phillips, "Generations 1965-1984," in *Frontier of Dreams: The Story of New Zealand*, eds. Bronwyn Dalley and Gavin McLean (Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2005), 340.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 351.

⁶ Philippa Mein Smith, "Treaty Revival 1974-2003," in *A Concise History of New Zealand* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 237-240.

decolonisation.”⁷ Carlyon and Morrow also noted that “like other countries throughout the western world, New Zealand’s second wave of feminism in the 1970s played a part in a broader cultural transformation that resulted in a more socially diverse, less conventional and constrictive society.”⁸ Discussion of second wave feminism, within a broader context of New Zealand society, gives the impression that the second wave feminist movement occurred at a time where there was much change and questioning of dominant norms.

Significance of Key Secondary Literature

Keeping an historical record of the second wave feminist movement was considered an important priority by the New Zealand second wave feminists, who contributed much to this area of history. As Christine Dann noted, “amongst other things, women’s liberationists were reading for their history. When they found it, they recorded it and celebrated it.” Feminists also “had still to discover how much feminist activism had been ‘hidden from history.’”⁹ Dale Spender reflected on the second wave feminists’ need to see where their work fitted in with women’s efforts in the past.¹⁰ There were two parts to this process – first the recovery of the achievements of women in the past, and then making sure that the work that they had achieved during the second wave feminist movement was not forgotten in the same way as the first. How second wave feminism was seen in relation to the past was important, and Dann argued that “while the WLM [Women’s Liberation Movement] was a new, and distinctive, form of feminism, it must still be seen as part of the feminist continuum.” The WLM was defined as “a movement formed in the early 1970s (in New Zealand) with a radical, feminist analysis of the situation of women, and a militant style of pushing for changes.”¹¹ There was a sense that even though the vote had been achieved by the ‘first wave,’ there had been a lack of progress made since, and “power structures” were questioned to a high extent.¹² Likewise, Sandra Coney noted that “feminism in the so-

⁷ James Belich, “Escape From Nappy Valley,” in *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 2001), 497.

⁸ Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow, “Feminism and Gay Rights, Liberation and its Legacy,” in *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013), 238.

⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 4, 8.

¹⁰ Dale Spender, “Introduction: Shifting the Goalposts,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 4-5.

¹¹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 4, 152.

¹² *Ibid.*, 28.

called second wave of feminism, while founded on the struggles of women in the past, was different in style and content from anything that had gone before.”¹³ Jock Phillips, who wrote of the second wave feminist movement in his chapter ‘Generations, 1965–1984,’ wrote of women’s history under the heading “Identity Politics.” Uncovering women’s history was thought of as an act of “asserting identity,” alongside the significance of Suffrage Day from 1971, International Women’s Year (IWY), and *Broadsheet* magazine. The relationship between the efforts of feminists from different time eras was a crucial link to uncover, because it gave feminists a sense that they had a history to connect to with in regards to their feminist work.¹⁴

The development of feminist literature within a women’s press was important for New Zealand women. As Christine Dann noted, “frequently feminists in New Zealand have had to provide their own infrastructure.”¹⁵ Additional women’s history-related works in 1975 mentioned by Dann, were the “Herstory exhibition” (which was also an influence of the Herstory diaries), and the emphasis on “female achievement and creativity.”¹⁶ The Herstory diaries were often identified by historians as a means of second wave feminists recovering their history.¹⁷ Fiona Kidman discussed the importance of the women’s press with examples such as Bridget Williams Books, Daphne Brasell Associates Press and the New Women’s Press.¹⁸ Dale Spender also suggested, “women can know what women have done when women can produce the meanings.” Having authority over how they were represented was vital.¹⁹ It also conveyed how important ‘writing’ was as a tool for women, and Sandra Coney began her piece in *Standing in the Sunshine* titled ‘The Feminist Press in New Zealand’ with, “the power of the pen has always provided political women with a peaceful means of persuasion and a way of linking together.”²⁰ Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow related the connection between second wave feminists and women’s history to the idea of ‘creative liberation,’ where “feminists made a concerted attempt to highlight outstanding women in history such as

¹³ Sandra Coney, “Breaking Free,” in *Standing in the Sunshine*, 142.

¹⁴ Phillips, “Generations 1965-1984,” 352.

¹⁵ Dann, *Up from Under*, 126.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁷ Barbara L. Brookes, “A Germaine Moment: style, language and audience,” in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts*, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), 209-210.

¹⁸ Fiona Kidman, “A New Breed of Women,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 145.

¹⁹ Spender, “Introduction: Shifting the Goalposts,” 5-6.

²⁰ Sandra Coney, “The Feminist Press in New Zealand,” in *Standing in the Sunshine*, 134-135.

Kate Sheppard, Katherine Mansfield and Robin Hyde, and to find out more about the past lives of ordinary women.”²¹ Publications created by feminists were a highly important aspect of the movement. *Broadsheet* magazine was particularly significant because of its “longevity” and it was a “true magazine, with news, opinion pieces, reviews and feature articles on whatever is politically topical for New Zealand women in general and the women’s movement in particular.”²² *Broadsheet* magazine will play a central role in forthcoming chapters.

The 1993 New Zealand Women’s Suffrage Centenary evidently impacted on the recognition of New Zealand women’s history. Particularly relevant to this, is the discussions provided by the authors/editors of *Women Together*, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink* and *Standing in the Sunshine* (all published in 1993). Sandra Coney, in her introduction wrote “*Standing in the Sunshine* marks and celebrates the centenary,” but it had also taken a “broader” approach by looking at New Zealand women over a 100 year period.²³ Anne Else noted:

A history of women’s organisations in New Zealand is a particularly appropriate publication for 1993, the centenary of women’s suffrage. The winning of the vote in 1893 and the rapid enrolment of women voters which followed was largely dependent on the organised effort of women, and their organisations constitute a significant feature of New Zealand history which has, like the history of women’s suffrage, received little recognition or attention until recently.²⁴

Likewise, Charlotte Macdonald’s introduction to *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink* began with a similar stance – “the centenary of women’s suffrage has sharpened interest in New Zealand’s feminist heritage” and “the centenary of women’s suffrage provides a timely occasion to survey and reflect upon the character and achievements of not only the suffrage feminists of the 1890s, but also their predecessors and their more numerous successors.”²⁵ Support from outside the feminist movement helped the production of significant texts such as *Standing in the Sunshine* and for the history of New Zealand women to gain greater recognition at this moment (although Sonja Davies noted the backlash that women received because money was contributed towards

²¹ Carlyon and Morrow, “Feminism and Gay Rights, Liberation and its Legacy,” 227-228.

²² Dann, *Up from Under*, 126-127.

²³ Sandra Coney, introduction to *Standing in the Sunshine*, 10.

²⁴ Anne Else, introduction to *Women Together*, vii.

²⁵ Charlotte Macdonald, introduction to *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 1.

Women's Suffrage related 'celebrations').²⁶ New Zealand women's history held significance at an earlier time, even if it was not given the same level of recognition as it had during the Suffrage Centenary Year. As discussed by Barbara Brookes, in the 1970s:

feminist historians began challenging the discursive framework of history: the use of mankind, for example, as a universal term. They created a new field of 'women's history' to recover women's experiences of the past and to emphasise that what had been taken for granted as the universal historical experience was often a story of men.²⁷

The consistent and long-term effort to recover the history of New Zealand women and New Zealand feminism should not be forgotten.

The secondary literature expanded the knowledge that society had about New Zealand women's history. This is clear from the revealed intentions of those who took up the challenge. The aims of creating *Women Together* "were to give as comprehensive a picture as possible of the extent, variety and importance of women's organisations and their activities over the last 150 years, and to provide a resource and inspiration for further work."²⁸ Sandra Coney suggested that *Standing in the Sunshine* would become "a reference and provide valuable resource material for those studying women's history," and that "by providing historical background material, the book may well assist in any discussion of the position of women in the future."²⁹ *Standing in the Sunshine* was not thought of from Coney's perspective as 'definitive.'³⁰ Charlotte Macdonald acknowledged what work had been achieved already, and suggested *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, "supplements" this work, and it was important that women's history continued to be developed. Macdonald illustrated how "this collection has been put together to provide a broader base for reflection on New Zealand's feminist history, and to provide an historical account of the development of feminism both as a set of ideas and as a political movement."³¹ Christine Dann's afterword is also informative on this particular aspect:

²⁶ Sonja Davies, "The Corridors of Powerlessness," in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 157.

²⁷ Brookes, "A Germaine Moment," 191-192, 210.

²⁸ Else, introduction to *Women Together*, vii.

²⁹ Coney, introduction to *Standing in the Sunshine*, 10.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Macdonald, introduction to *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 1.

In this effort to share fifteen years of collective learning and acting, I hope I have conveyed why so many women have given so much of themselves to the women's movement, and also how necessary a continuing women's movement is. I have written of the past in order to contribute to the future....³²

Additional examples of publications were *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand* (1986), *A Woman's Life: Writing by Women About Female Experience in New Zealand* (1989), and *Women in History 2* (1992) – they connected to New Zealand second wave feminism through their aims of expanding women's history.³³ They also contained contributions by women who have contributed much to New Zealand women's and feminist history scholarship such as Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, Anne Else and Sandra Coney.

It is significant that the 1990s was a time period where much of the key secondary literature was created. This was a pivotal time period when the progress of the second wave feminist movement itself was measured (although progress was consistently monitored over the years – evident in *Broadsheet*). Christine Dann had assessed the situation during 1985 in *Up From Under*:

It is the end of the United Nations Decade for Women – and women's liberationists are emphasising how much has *not* been achieved in those ten years. How much more remains to be done before women in most parts of the world achieve even equal rights and status with men, let alone the freedom and power to make a significant impact on the way their own lives are ordered and the nations and world they live in are run.³⁴

Both the future of second wave feminism was assessed within these sources, and changes in New Zealand society were taken into consideration (for example, “economic and political life,” and the “‘new right’ policies”).³⁵ Charlotte Macdonald noted the ‘continuance’ of “feminist debate,” and that “one of the paradoxes of the 1980s and early 1990s is the fact that a number of women's and feminist issues have gained public and official recognition at the same time as real movement towards gender equality has

³² Dann, *Up From Under*, 148.

³³ Barbara L. Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant, *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, eds. Barbara L. Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant (Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1986); Heather Roberts and Anne Else, *A Woman's Life: Writing by Women About Female Experience in New Zealand*, eds. Heather Roberts and Anne Else (Auckland: Penguin, 1989); Barbara L. Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant, *Women in History 2.*, eds. Barbara L. Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

³⁵ Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 209.

proved elusive.”³⁶ Similarly, Raewyn Dalziel acknowledged feminist success, “yet reforms and advances can easily be slowed down, lost sight of and even reversed.” The significance of 1993 meant this was “a time to remind all people that women’s struggle for equality, and beyond that for true emancipation, is far from over.”³⁷ There is a general sense that second wave feminism had waned at this time, and feminists were challenged to figure out how to react to the “current political climate.”³⁸ Even so, a sense of hopefulness still existed in relation to future feminist action. As Rosier concluded in her discussion of *Broadsheet* magazine, “the current *Broadsheet* collective is set fair to sail into the second twenty years.”³⁹ Second wave feminism was still regarded as necessary, and Dann and Maud Cahill emphasised the need for a continuance of feminist efforts.⁴⁰ With the effort that second wave feminists had put into ‘recovering women’s history’ and the contributions about their experiences, it was more likely that future generations of feminists would avoid the situation that the second wave feminists often described of not knowing the past in terms of feminism and New Zealand women’s history.⁴¹

Key secondary literature expressed the diversity within the second wave feminist movement, in terms of race, class and sexuality. Contributions from women who came from different backgrounds enabled a greater understanding of those who contributed to the movement. Publications such as *Changing Our Lives*, *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, *Standing in the Sunshine* and *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, demonstrated this more explicitly. Diversity was acknowledged by the authors/editors, with how they dealt with sources and the limitations of their work in regards to representation. Pat Rosier acknowledged that *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine* could not “be representative of even the issues that have been raised, nor can it do justice to the richness, diversity and impact of Women’s Liberation and feminism in Aotearoa/New Zealand,” it was to be described as “glimpses and glances.”⁴² In this case Maori women were given authority over the ‘Maori section’

³⁶ Ibid., 210.

³⁷ Raewyn Dalziel, “Political Organisations,” in *Women Together*, 68.

³⁸ Ibid., 67.

³⁹ Pat Rosier, introduction to *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 17.

⁴⁰ Christine Dann and Maud Cahill, introduction to *Changing Our Lives*, 9.

⁴¹ Sue Kedgley and Mary Varnham, foreword to *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 2.

⁴² Rosier, introduction to *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 7.

introduced by Miriama Scott.⁴³ Similarly, Sandra Coney mentioned in *Standing in the Sunshine*, that “it was decided not to follow the usual practice of having a Maori section, which can marginalise Maori experience, but to explore Maori and Pakeha women’s experience together,” along with Maori women writing their own history.⁴⁴ These decisions appear to have taken into account the need for Maori women to have their voice represented, something learned to a great extent by second wave feminists. Christine Dann and Maud Cahill explained that *Changing Our Lives* “was conceived with the idea of showing how the lives of the changers were changed. To show what it feels like when ‘ordinary’ women get caught up in extraordinary social and political events. To show how many small, individual efforts add up to significant overall changes.”⁴⁵ This work also revealed “the often painful experience of individual women coming to terms with the reality of ‘minority’ women within the movement. Maori women, other women of colour, working-class women, and lesbian women all developed their own analysis and action, but continued to challenge other women to address their concerns.”⁴⁶ The reflective stance taken by feminists in regards to their experience of divisions and conflict is shown within publications such as *Changing Our Lives* and *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*. Both publications expressed a collaboration of feminist reflective stories that perhaps enabled a much needed space for reflections about those challenging times. Sandra Coney had hoped that women would “learn from our mistakes.” Her article in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit* discussed the confronting impact of divisions within the movement from a reflective stance.⁴⁷ There was a desire to acknowledge difference, and to treat the women who contributed with respect. This seemed to have a profound influence on the nature of the secondary literature that was produced. Diversity is also present within, and shapes, the secondary literature, as divisions and conflicts within the second wave feminist movement were not simply glossed over, but became a prominent part of such accounts.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Coney, introduction to *Standing in the Sunshine*, 11.

⁴⁵ Dann and Cahill, introduction to *Changing Our Lives*, 2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ Sandra Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 73.

Key Aspects of New Zealand Second Wave Feminism

The following paragraphs look at the key aspects of the second wave feminist movement that have been regular points of discussion within the secondary literature: what influenced feminist involvement in the second wave feminist movement, how gender inequality was questioned, the collective aims of second wave feminist work, and challenges within the second wave feminist movement. The language used to describe the introduction of this movement within New Zealand is telling in itself of the kind of impact it had. Second wave feminism “had an explosive impact.”⁴⁸ It “burst onto the New Zealand scene,”⁴⁹ and “in the 1970s, the women’s liberation movement flared up and spread like a bush fire.”⁵⁰ 1972 became a significant year for the origins of this movement in New Zealand, as events such as the Germaine Greer Tour occurred and *Broadsheet* magazine was first created.⁵¹ Although, as Fern Mercier noted, “in 1970, the women’s liberation movement in Aotearoa was considered to be the second great wave of a much larger cycle of women reacting against centuries-old patriarchal oppression.”⁵² This conveyed how a feminist effort itself was not new,⁵³ but at this time was large enough in size to be called a ‘mass’ feminist movement.

Influences

The personal involvement of women in the New Zealand second wave feminist movement was influenced by a number of factors. This movement had connections with protest/social movements of this time which questioned inequality within society, as demonstrated by the ‘counter-culture’ climate discussions by New Zealand history historians.⁵⁴ The stories of feminists, such as those included in *Changing Our Lives*, revealed how participation in Vietnam war and anti-racism protests influenced their involvement in the campaign for Women’s Liberation (WL). Cynthia Roberts noted

⁴⁸ Dalziel, “Political Organisations,” 63.

⁴⁹ Coney, “Breaking Free,” 142.

⁵⁰ Macdonald, introduction to *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 8- 9.

⁵¹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 9, 12.

⁵² Fern Mercier, “An Odyssey,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 47.

⁵³ Anne Else and Rosslyn Noonan, “Unfinished Business,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 193.

⁵⁴ For example: Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, additional material by Raewyn Dalziel (Auckland: NZ Penguin, 2000), 316.

how she “had revelled in the ferment of ideas of those times: the debates, the challenges, the protest marches against Omega and the Vietnam war.”⁵⁵ Likewise, Fern Mercier discussed her interest in the “American Civil Rights movement,”⁵⁶ and Christine Bird stated “my first political involvement was in the anti-Vietnam war protests, but I was just waiting for feminism.”⁵⁷ Christine Dann and Maud Cahill noted that “for most activists in the women’s movement of the past twenty years, this is part of a wider campaign against injustice and evil in the world – against war and other forms of violence, racial discrimination, class exploitation and the oppression of minority groups.”⁵⁸

The treatment of women within such protest/social movements and left wing groups impacted on involvement within the second wave feminist movement. Sandra Coney noted the origins of WL, where “women fighting to free other peoples” had filled a less important support role, in relation to the American civil rights campaign and Vietnam. The New Zealand movement “was largely inspired by events in America and, to a lesser degree, Britain.”⁵⁹ Christine Dann also reflected on the origins of New Zealand women’s liberation groups which grew out of left-wing groups, where “these organisations were not addressing the needs of women, and the women’s liberationists threw down a challenge,” and in doing so, it was possible for the oppression of women to be made a central issue.⁶⁰ Fern Mercier recalled that “university with its archaic exam system and old-fashioned ideas was a chore, but the times were exciting and my friends taught me about the Vietnam war, mixed flatting, and demonstrations.”⁶¹ For some women their situation had changed, and many of these women married and had children. This is relevant to point out because “the women’s liberation movement of the late sixties and seventies had talked about suburban neurosis, and had exposed the real situation of the supposed content housewife.”⁶² It was also a process of women individually becoming aware of their own oppression – something they may not have been aware of previously.⁶³

⁵⁵ Cynthia Roberts, “Living the Times,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 115.

⁵⁶ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 49.

⁵⁷ Christine Bird, “Lighting up Oppression,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 132.

⁵⁸ Dann and Cahill, introduction to *Changing Our Lives*, 1.

⁵⁹ Coney, “Breaking Free,” 142.

⁶⁰ Dann, *Up From Under*, 5, 142.

⁶¹ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 49.

⁶² Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 52.

⁶³ Bird, “Lighting up Oppression,” 116.

WL overseas provided a degree of inspiration for the movement that grew within New Zealand, and awareness was aided by the overseas feminist literature available at the time.⁶⁴ Cynthia Roberts described this women's literature as "exciting and mind-blowing,"⁶⁵ and Christine Bird emphasised, "we needed knowledge."⁶⁶ Publications such as *The Feminine Mystique* and *The Female Eunuch* became influential texts in understanding second wave feminism on a personal level.⁶⁷ Edith Mercier depicted how the Dunedin Collective for Women "all read avidly women writers such as Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone and Simone de Beauvoir, looking at ourselves and our place in the world in a completely new way, supporting each other and eager to make a woman's place powerful and good."⁶⁸ Germaine Greer was asked by the Auckland Women's Liberation group to New Zealand, where "she was a media sensation" and "the enormous publicity surrounding her visit alerted many women to women's liberation ideas for the first time."⁶⁹ Germaine Greer had "first sounded the alarm", and *The Female Eunuch* was considered as a "bible of the women's liberation movement."⁷⁰ Barbara Brookes' chapter 'A Germaine Moment: style, language and audience' provided an extensive insight into Germaine Greer's visit, which attracted great public attention.⁷¹ Brookes noted that "the Auckland women's decision to invite Germaine Greer in 1972 was a coup in the publicity campaign. A willowy bluestocking with an insouciant style was sure to attract attention to the cause."⁷² Ngahuia Te Awakotuku's view of Greer's visit was that "her whistle-stop presence in the country, coupled with the insatiable greed of the media, worked vast wonders for the movement nationally."⁷³ Greer's use of the word 'bullshit' in public has become a well-known moment in the accounts of the New Zealand second wave feminist movement.⁷⁴ Fern Mercier noted that "the ideas were from all over the globe, but we were homegrown, and leapt eagerly

⁶⁴ King, "A Revolution Begun," 462.

⁶⁵ Roberts, "Living the Times," 118.

⁶⁶ Bird, "Lighting up Oppression," 132.

⁶⁷ For example: Sylvia Baynes, "Waiting for the Suffragettes," in *Changing Our Lives*, 37.

⁶⁸ Edith Mercier, "Self-Help Liberation: The Dunedin Collective for Women," in *Changing Our Lives*, 43.

⁶⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 12.

⁷⁰ Sue Kedgley, "Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit," in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 13.

⁷¹ Brookes, "A Germaine Moment," 191-213.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 198.

⁷³ Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, "Mana Wahine: Seeking Meanings for Ourselves," in *Changing Our Lives*, 29.

⁷⁴ Judy McGregor, Germaine Greer, Marilyn Waring, and Sandra Coney, "Where were you in 72?," Radio New Zealand, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/audio/player/2519702>. Originally aired on Writers and Readers Festivals, 10 June 2012.

into the fray.”⁷⁵ There was a combination of important influences that gave second wave feminism the opportunity to develop. It was then up to New Zealand second wave feminists to absorb what they had learnt and apply it to their own lives in order to try and find some relevance within a New Zealand context.

Gender Inequality

New Zealand second wave feminists took a stand against gender inequality in New Zealand. Women initially aimed to challenge dominant norms so that society was improved for everyone, not just women.⁷⁶ WL groups wanted to make it clear that they were different to conservative groups and previous feminist efforts through their methods and style. Different times called for different methods overall, but the methods were supposedly more ‘radical.’⁷⁷ Charlotte Macdonald noted the emphasis on ‘liberation’ and “the difference lay in the overall context in which the issues were placed...women were described as being oppressed by a harsh and unyielding regime.”⁷⁸ Mary O’Regan discussed the importance of recognising the contribution of past generations of women, even if they were regarded as conservative, as it “is important for us to realise that the way they had to work reflected their times, and that we can’t expect them to change radically just because times have changed.” A degree of respect and understanding was needed in regards to previous generations, while still using techniques/methods that were suitable for this time.⁷⁹ The secondary literature often detailed a summary of the issues that were of concern for the feminist movement at certain times, as well as giving examples of personal experiences.

Traditional social ideals were questioned and the feminist movement was significant because it was the “only organised effort to alter the situation of suburban women.”⁸⁰ Anne Else and Rosslyn Noonan remembered the beginnings of second wave feminism in New Zealand, when “we were certain women could do anything worth doing that men could do – but we would do it differently, so the world would be a better place for

⁷⁵ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 50.

⁷⁶ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 69.

⁷⁷ Dann, *Up From Under*, 9-11.

⁷⁸ Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 162.

⁷⁹ Mary O’Regan, “Radicalised by the System,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 167-168.

⁸⁰ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 54.

everyone.”⁸¹ Christine Dann believed that at the time of the ‘pub liberations,’ it was more obvious that “social mores were changing.”⁸² Sandra Coney provided an overview of the earlier situation:

The dominant ideology in the early years was for equality for women to be reached through equalising women’s opportunities and pay in the marketplace (towards which the provision of free child care was a platform), control of fertility (safe contraception and free, safe abortion), reform of the structure of the family and marriage, an end to sex role stereotyping of children (freeing women from the exclusive burden of household work, and men from the breadwinning role), and an end to the depiction of women as sex objects.⁸³

Feminists emphasised matters of equal pay, where it was believed “that economic independence is the foundation of other forms of independence.”⁸⁴ To have “free twenty-four-hour child-care centres” was a central aim, and “the WLM was merely giving a push to the existing trend when it demanded that society give higher priority to child care.”⁸⁵ Single mothers, who were in a vulnerable position, were highly supported by feminists.⁸⁶ Gender equality within a work environment related to “affirmative action”, which had two objectives – “the first is getting women into jobs which they have been previously excluded from, or been too shy or untrained to venture into. The second is ensuring that women reach the top levels in the jobs they take on.”⁸⁷ Dann also reflected on the exploitation of women and the control over their own bodies, where “the right of women to control their own fertility – to choose when, where, how and whether to have children – has been a central and vital issue for the women’s liberation movement.”⁸⁸ Issues of violence and rape also came to be an important focus.⁸⁹

Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine provided an insightful analysis of feminist concerns at certain times through an analysis of *Broadsheet* magazine. Editor Pat Rosier argued that “few of the issues raised in *Broadsheet* have ‘gone away’ or in any way been resolved: new ones appear and they all move in and out of the

⁸¹ Else and Noonan, “Unfinished Business,” 191.

⁸² Dann, *Up From Under*, 6.

⁸³ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 68.

⁸⁴ Dann, *Up From Under*, 65.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 51, 53.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

foreground.”⁹⁰ Abortion was a key issue from the early 1970s, and the idea that women needed to have control over their own bodies. Also, “contraception, marriage (and alternatives), childrearing, equal pay and opportunity, sexism at work and in education, the impact of government policies on women, and women’s liberation activities around the country all appear in the first few years and reappear regularly.”⁹¹ The 1980s were accredited with issues of “reproductive health, domestic violence (including incest), paid work issues, government actions and spending cuts were themes of the eighties – all with beginnings in the seventies and none resolved in the nineties.”⁹² Rosier concluded that the issues of the 1990s, were “the beauty myth (old concern, new emphasis), backlash (right wing reaction identified in the early seventies under a new name), and international economic and political changes.”⁹³ *Broadsheet* proved to be a valuable source in observing what feminist issues were more conspicuous at certain points, and the overall direction of the movement.

Many feminists who wrote of their experiences of gender inequality drew on the nature of the masculine environment of the public sphere in regards to their work/career. This was emphasised in the stories of Sonja Davies, Fiona Kidman, Sue Kedgley, Alison Webber and Charmaine Pountney in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*. Kedgley drew on the influence that Germaine Greer’s ideas had had on her, where “far from revolutionising the workforce, most of the women who have made it to the top have been swallowed up and sidetracked by it – largely because they have accepted equality of opportunity on men’s terms, not on their own.”⁹⁴ Alison Webber, who discussed her career in the media industry, experienced this “dominant male culture.” It was taken for granted in this industry, so women had to fit into this environment whilst being discriminated against in terms of what types of news stories were assigned to them, where “one of the goals for women entering the media in those days was to avoid being relegated to the women’s pages.”⁹⁵ Sonja Davies, whose experience was within parliament and with positions of power in regards to the local city council, understood how hard it was to be accepted on an equal level to men. The hard thing was to change the situation when there was a great degree of authority against this want for change,

⁹⁰ Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 9.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 9-10.

⁹³ Ibid., 10.

⁹⁴ Kedgley, “Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit,” 14, 31.

⁹⁵ Alison Webber, “All the Prejudice That’s Fit to Print,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 34-35.

and that “it has also become obvious over the years that men tolerate women in parliament only as long as they’re prepared to accept the system as it is, and stick to non-threatening issues.”⁹⁶ Christine Dann noted that “feminists in the political system walk a tightrope, poised between selling out and opting out,” in her discussion of the differences between the Labour and National parties.⁹⁷ Charmaine Pountney highlighted the “classic feminist dilemma” – hiding a feminist identity or speaking out within the conservative environment.⁹⁸ It was not just a matter of having the right to enter the workplace, but how women were treated once they had gained that right, as prejudice still existed through attitudes, and how work environments such as parliament and the media industry functioned.

Collective Aims

The New Zealand second wave feminist movement demonstrated an objective of collective action. Charlotte Macdonald believed that “it was not a highly structured system. What united these groups and gatherings were common experiences and ideas found in books, articles and magazines.”⁹⁹ ‘Structurelessness’ was the “accepted mode.”¹⁰⁰ The intended purpose of avoiding a normalised structure was “to enable all women to participate, although later there were criticisms that structurelessness could simply lead to informal elites and an inability to organise large-scale political action,” while the much used technique of consciousness raising “aimed to heighten individuals’ awareness of their own oppression and engender a feeling of solidarity with other women.”¹⁰¹ Consciousness raising was defined as “a form of political education developed by the Women’s Liberation Movement...also used as an adjective to describe experiences which lead to feminist awareness.”¹⁰² The non-hierarchical structure appeared to work well for groups such as the Dunedin Collective for Women, who eventually opened a bookshop called Daybreak in 1977.¹⁰³ Therese O’Connell described a rough patch with her own involvement in the feminist movement, but she came to the

⁹⁶ Davies, “The Corridors of Powerlessness,” 149.

⁹⁷ Dann, *Up From Under*, 48-50.

⁹⁸ Charmaine Pountney, “Hairy Questions,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 177-178.

⁹⁹ Macdonald, introduction to *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Te Awekotuku, “Mana Wahine: Seeking Meanings for Ourselves,” 26.

¹⁰¹ Coney, “Breaking Free,” 142-143.

¹⁰² Dann, “Glossary” in *Up from Under*, 151.

¹⁰³ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 52, 54.

conclusion that there was an “importance of developing strong networks of women; otherwise we could all individually be beaten down physically, and mentally, by working in such an incredibly male-dominated structure.”¹⁰⁴ New Zealand feminists “experimented with collectives, informal meetings, open discussions, consensus and shared or rotating positions of responsibility.”¹⁰⁵ In regards to IWY in 1975:

Women’s liberationists greeted it with mixed feelings. They welcomed government support for feminist activities, but they did not want government control. Government was top-heavy with men, hierarchical and bureaucratic as well. These characteristics of government were unwelcome to the women’s liberation movement, for they contradicted the movement’s aim of empowering ordinary women. The movement went on organising in its own way.¹⁰⁶

There is a strong sense that this was a matter of women wanting to have greater control over their own lives by the way they organised their feminist work.¹⁰⁷

Second wave feminists were specific about how they wanted to approach their task. It was experiences like ‘Suffrage Day’ marches, protests, establishing bookshops and other events that conveyed an amazing amount of energy, hope and collective action.¹⁰⁸ Sylvia Baynes described her experience of attending United Women’s Conventions (UWC), and despite the obvious confrontation that occurred, she noted “I have fond memories of them; the women I met, the challenge of new ideas, the friendships made, the jokes and laughter we shared together, the concerts, an early appearance by the Topp Twins, and the blossoming of other talents as well.”¹⁰⁹ Many feminists reflected on these aspects of the movement as something they enjoyed being a part of. Sonja Davies revealed:

early on in my political career I realised and accepted that women have a different agenda from men, and different ways of looking at problems. I learned that things that matter to women, such as social justice, child care and care of the elderly, are considered worthy but not as important as, say, airport development, roading and parking facilities. In other words, they are soft options.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Therese O’Connell, “Singing to Survive,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 74.

¹⁰⁵ Dalziel, “Political Organisations,” 64.

¹⁰⁶ Dann, *Up From Under*, 18.

¹⁰⁷ Else and Noonan, “Unfinished Business,” 193-194.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Baynes, “Waiting for the Suffragettes,” 36-37.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹¹⁰ Davies, “The Corridors of Powerlessness,” 151-152.

Areas women needed most support in often faced budget cuts. Davies believed that “women work best when we are in groups, when we are able to network together and know that there’s a level of trust.”¹¹¹ There was the ability for feminist involvement on different levels, so women could feel content with their contribution. Many feminists valued the friendships gained by being a part of the movement.¹¹²

Communication between women was an important aspect, and *Broadsheet* magazine was an example of a collective effort, which “rapidly grew into a national magazine.”¹¹³ Sandra Coney highlighted the significance of *Broadsheet* as it was “one of a very few feminist magazines worldwide to have survived from the early days of women’s liberation.”¹¹⁴ The *Broadsheet* Collective embodied that sense of community that was felt by feminists, and was a group that played an influential role in the direction of the movement. Carmel Daly noted that “from the outset, both the magazine and the collective had a strong political role, building, nurturing, analysing and critiquing the women’s movement. Collective members planned and took part in workshops, conferences, and demonstrations.”¹¹⁵ Images included in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine* only further emphasised the collective nature and supportive women’s environment.¹¹⁶ Undertaking unpaid work, giving their time and commitment with its production, raising funds and running the *Broadsheet* bookshop, demonstrated a committed attitude by feminists.¹¹⁷ This effort evidently influenced *Broadsheet*’s survival through to the 1990s.

Challenges

The New Zealand second wave feminist movement experienced challenges, not only in terms of outside opposition, but also because of divisions within the movement. This demonstrated a contrast with their collective objectives. Sandra Coney identified particular catalysts such as the 1978 Radical Feminist Caucus, the lesbian split in

¹¹¹ Ibid., 155.

¹¹² For example: Viv Porzolt, “Feeling It, Thinking It, Doing It: My Life in the Women’s Movement,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 24.

¹¹³ Dann, *Up From Under*, 8-9. Other publications at this time included the newsletter titled *Woman* and a paper titled *Up From Under*.

¹¹⁴ Coney, “The Feminist Press in New Zealand,” 135.

¹¹⁵ Carmel Daly, “*Broadsheet* Collective 1972 –,” in *Women Together*, 100.

¹¹⁶ For example: Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 9, 13.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 10-17.

relation to *Broadsheet* magazine, and the 1979 UWC in Hamilton.¹¹⁸ Christine Dann saw that “nineteen-seventy-three was thus the year in which ‘specialisation’ began to creep into the women’s liberation movement, with separate groups being set up to deal with specific issues affecting women,” which included issues such as rape, abortion and lesbian discrimination.¹¹⁹ Women wanted to be part of groups that they could relate to, which was at times a challenge.¹²⁰ Equality within the movement was hard to achieve without ‘structure,’ and this was seen by Coney as another source of where the movement went wrong because it did not prevent the inequality they wished to avoid.¹²¹

Events that brought women together also demonstrated times of debate and confrontation. The UWCs have been regularly referred to within discussions of the movement. Not all individuals involved had a feminist background.¹²² Raewyn Dalziel suggested that “as basic feminist ideas took stronger hold in the community, the conventions attracted women of widely differing views who could not always agree.”¹²³ The 1975 Wellington UWC depicted that “there was still a sense of sisterhood, but it was not as euphoric as it had been.”¹²⁴ For lesbian women, such as Marilyn Johnson, “the United Women’s Convention held in Christchurch in 1977 saw lesbian political power as a prime motivating force. We were refusing to be ignored and demanding to be recognised and respected.”¹²⁵ In 1978 “the extent of ideological diversity and conflict within the WLM itself was made painfully clear at the WL Congress held at Piha... these divisions were emphasised again later in the year, when the *Broadsheet* collective split, and half the members left the magazine.”¹²⁶ The infamous Hamilton UWC of 1979 “attracted record numbers – but for feminists of all persuasions it was a problematic and sometimes painful event.”¹²⁷ For Donna Awatere, the conflict that occurred had not worried her, “you can’t achieve the kind of changes we were after without that intensity

¹¹⁸ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 59.

¹¹⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 16.

¹²⁰ Noreen Penny, “The Spiritual Is Political,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 112.

¹²¹ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 64-65, 68.

¹²² Coney, “Breaking Free,” 143.

¹²³ Dalziel, “Political Organisations,” 65.

¹²⁴ Dann, *Up From Under*, 19.

¹²⁵ Marilyn Johnson, “Lesbian and Feminist: Invisible Among the Invisible,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 67-68.

¹²⁶ Dann, *Up From Under*, 21.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 23. Also see: Kimberley Hayes, “Race relations in New Zealand Through an Analysis of *Broadsheet* Magazine 1972-1989” (Honours diss., University of Canterbury, 2013), 5-13.

of feeling.”¹²⁸ It was an issue of representation within the context of the feminist movement.

The identity of the feminists themselves was also an issue that caused debate. Christine Dann and Maud Cahill noted that “what looked like a victory for all women could only be enjoyed by some,” in relation to the inequality that was felt from those with a working class, Maori and lesbian identity.¹²⁹ Christine Bird had “experienced oppression in three forms: as a woman, as working class, and as a lesbian. The first two forms, at the time and place I experienced them, had a herstory and theoretical basis that could give some support to the oppressed.”¹³⁰ Sylvia Baynes discussed her support of gay rights, and how “we had our heterosexist notions challenged from the start and quite rightly so.”¹³¹ Mary Varnham talked of relationships with men, and noted how “some of the early women’s liberationists had pointed out that women lived on more intimate terms with their oppressors than any other oppressed group in history,” and “as feminism progressed, heterosexual women found it harder to ignore their own ideological inconsistency and lesbians were able to claim the moral high ground.”¹³²

Furthermore, a unique aspect of the second wave feminist movement for New Zealand was the relationship between Maori and Pakeha women. This is a significant component of the New Zealand feminist story, and is strongly evident in the secondary literature. Race relations was central to the New Zealand second wave feminist movement, and “the fact that Maori women played a central role in influencing the recognition of the discontent in New Zealand race relations, and the major impact this had, cannot be emphasised enough.”¹³³ Ngahuia Te Awekotuku’s reflections in *Changing Our Lives* demonstrated how women within the same culture had differing views and the challenge she faced in terms of her views being accepted. Te Awekotuku wrote:

The days (for me, and I know for many others) of deciding which issue or identity is more important are long since over; we are who we are, and that is that. Otherwise we risk

¹²⁸ Donna Awatere, “Walking on Eggs,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 124.

¹²⁹ Dann and Cahill, introduction to *Changing Our Lives*, 3.

¹³⁰ Bird, “Lighting up Oppression,” 131.

¹³¹ Baynes, “Waiting for the Suffragettes,” 38.

¹³² Mary Varnham, “Who’ll Marry Her Now?,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 107-108, 113; Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 71.

¹³³ Hayes, “Race relations in New Zealand,” 36.

becoming our own oppressors, and the judgemental feminism of contraction and exclusion rises again from the ashes of Piha. Let it rest there.¹³⁴

It was necessary for second wave feminists to view ‘oppression’ on a wider level, which was interpreted as a positive direction,¹³⁵ and Phillida Bunkle reflected:

I have followed the development of Maori feminist thought because they have of necessity been at the cutting edge of theory and analysis. I believe that *Broadsheet*’s commitment to biculturalism and anti-racism has been really important, and have also benefited from Sandra Coney’s close friendship with some of the radical Maori women in Auckland.¹³⁶

The acknowledgement of difference became a crucial issue that needed to be addressed.¹³⁷

Although it was hard to view the New Zealand second wave feminist movement as a ‘movement’ by the 1990s, this did not stop the work of those involved with the movement who carried on with work that incorporated feminist values.¹³⁸ Christine Bird described the movement at this time, as “a pool after a pebble has been cast into it. The ripples continue to spread but the centre is calm. In previous decades the centre was a vortex of activity. It’s great to see the ripples spreading wider and more women taking up more of the ideas and beliefs of feminism.”¹³⁹ Charlotte Macdonald noted that the “feminist or women’s movement (‘women’s liberation’ was heard less often), diversified as groups and individuals took up particular causes, and the first flush of political activity and exuberance transformed into more sustained action.”¹⁴⁰ It would have been challenging to be part of a movement that did not have the same energy it began with. In the 1990s, Sandra Coney stated “the local women’s liberation groups with a broad platform of aims have all but vanished,” and “there is no broad women’s movement to articulate the concerns of women, to demand attention and action.”¹⁴¹ The specialised groups were significant because it gave the impression that there was a less ‘unified’ movement, but feminist work still continued.

¹³⁴ Te Awakotuku, “Mana Wahine: Seeking Meanings for Ourselves,” 33.

¹³⁵ Dann, *Up From Under*, 38-39.

¹³⁶ Phillida Bunkle “Personal Crisis/Global Crisis,” in *Changing Our Lives*, 179.

¹³⁷ Hayes, “Race relations in New Zealand,” 14-25.

¹³⁸ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 58.

¹³⁹ Bird, “Lighting up Oppression,” 136.

¹⁴⁰ Macdonald, *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink*, 206.

¹⁴¹ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 54-55.

The environment that the New Zealand second wave feminist movement existed within during the late 1980s/1990s contrasted with the environment of the 1970s. The ‘New Right’ was the central focus of Phillida Bunkle’s chapter ‘How the Level Playing Field Levelled Women’ in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, where she claimed that “at heart, although the new right claimed to have progressive and radical new solutions, their philosophical underpinning was destined to carry us back to the social atrocities of the nineteenth century.”¹⁴² Fern Mercier also believed that “the mayhem of the New Right is pushing us nearer and nearer to the edge of a new Dark Age where women and children are, as always, most at risk.”¹⁴³ The ‘New Right’ “values were the antithesis of those which had motivated and inspired the second wave of feminism.”¹⁴⁴ Over the years, feminists had an up and down relationship with the government “as enemy and ally” in regards to policies established.¹⁴⁵ As Anne Else and Rosslyn Noonan argued:

The new right approach places all the value on the paid work and none on unpaid, just as it places all the emphasis (in theory) in refusing to treat women differently in any way, and calls this equality. The heartening thing is that most New Zealanders – and certainly most women – believe this is the wrong direction.¹⁴⁶

Feminists were concerned with the extreme right wing as early as the 1980s, and the money taken away from “health, education and welfare spending.”¹⁴⁷ This was an environment that second wave feminists felt strongly against, and it was yet another contributor to the demise of the second wave feminist movement. It was noted that the movement “ran out of steam.”¹⁴⁸ And in 1997 *Broadsheet* magazine ended publication,¹⁴⁹ along with a notion of a ‘post-feminist’ era (although that was questionable by those who were a part of the second wave).¹⁵⁰ This seemed like an appropriate time for feminist reflection.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² Phillida Bunkle, “How the Level Playing Field Levelled Women,” in *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*, 92-93.

¹⁴³ Mercier, “An Odyssey,” 58.

¹⁴⁴ Else and Noonan, “Unfinished Business,” 199.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁴⁷ Dann, *Up From Under*, 24-25.

¹⁴⁸ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 51-74.

¹⁴⁹ Sandra Grey, “Women, politics, and protest: rethinking women’s liberation activism in New Zealand,” in *Rethinking Women and Politics: New Zealand and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Kate McMillan, John Leslie and Elizabeth McLeay (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009), 46.

¹⁵⁰ Sandra Coney, “The Last Post for Feminism,” in *Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed*, eds. Diane Bell and Renate Klein (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996), 275-276.

¹⁵¹ Dann and Cahill, introduction to *Changing Our Lives*, 8.

Conclusion

New Zealand society is fortunate to have the knowledge that it has of the second wave feminist movement. As is portrayed by the sources that are available, understanding this aspect of our history is made easier due to the dedication of the second wave feminists themselves. It was important that this work was created for a number of reasons. It is closely linked and reflective of the second wave feminist movement in a number of ways – representing collective work by New Zealand second wave feminists (feminist projects) and as a space for women to describe their personal experiences. There was great recognition of the need to record this history of second wave feminism. The secondary literature demonstrated an awareness of difference, which is represented by the inclusiveness of a variety of feminists from different backgrounds.

A metaphor that Sandra Coney used during her piece ‘Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,’ seemed a fitting way to describe the overall outcome of this movement – “a star exploding, its separate pieces whirled off into other galaxies beyond reach, its brightness diminished, its fierce, searing intensity gone.”¹⁵² For all the challenges that the second wave feminist movement faced, a significant amount of work was achieved, which demonstrated an admirable commitment to making New Zealand society more aware of the inequality that was present, and to have a record of such an achievement. Years later, these same records of the movement and feminist experiences are now imperative texts to be examined.

¹⁵² Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 57.

Chapter Two: Second Wave Feminism and *Broadsheet* Magazine

Introduction

By paying close attention to Sandra Coney's contribution to New Zealand's feminist magazine *Broadsheet* (1972-1997), this chapter conveys the position of New Zealand women and what the New Zealand second wave feminist movement itself was about. *Broadsheet* itself has been utilised in this context as both an important primary source and data set. Coney's articles are a representation of second wave feminist concerns, and have been categorised within this chapter according to broad subject areas which correspond to important aspects of the second wave feminist movement: 'Initial Feminist Objectives,' 'Reflections,' 'Representation,' 'The Position of Women,' 'Women's Influence,' 'New Zealand Race Relations, Diversity and WL,' 'Feeling Powerless,' and 'Women's Health.'

While the movement was based on a 'collective sisterhood,' at the same time it portrayed individual stories and backgrounds. Sandra Coney's perspective was unique, as it would have been for any other feminist at this time, but her perspective appeared to be in line with general feminist thought with those she worked alongside.¹ Individual contributions were significant, yet feminist energy had to be brought together for progress to be made. This was conveyed by her individual contributions, which allow for an insight into a variety of feminist topics. This analysis of *Broadsheet* particularly brought out Coney's high level of political activism and health advocacy.²

Sandra Coney wrote additional works that contributed to the context of the articles that she wrote for *Broadsheet*. *Out of the Frying Pan*, demonstrated how Coney interpreted her *Broadsheet* contributions from a 1990s perspective. This is a relevant text to refer to throughout this chapter because it is Coney's collection of work and reflections on past

¹ Sandra Coney, Pat Rosier and Jenny Rankine, "Sandra Coney," *Broadsheet*, October 1985, 34-37. Christine Dann and Phillida Bunkle's influence was noted during this interview.

² Sandra Coney also contributed an extensive number of reviews (music, film, television, books, theatre) for *Broadsheet*'s Arts section during her time as editor, which suggested the diversity of her contribution, her appreciation of women artists, and the sexism that existed within this Arts arena.

pieces of writing. Chapter two in *Out of the Frying Pan*, titled ‘Starting to fight back, The *Broadsheet* Years,’ demonstrated how Coney categorised her feminist/*Broadsheet* work herself. Coney wrote, “I have chosen pieces that cover some of the key events for feminists over the fourteen years of my involvement with the magazine.”³ This chapter also draws on items from the Sandra Coney Papers, as they have a connection with what Coney wrote about in *Broadsheet* magazine.

Initial Feminist Objectives

As an editor of *Broadsheet* from 1972 to 1985, Sandra Coney’s level of involvement within the New Zealand second wave feminist movement was significant. This was recognised by the feminists she worked with such as Christine Dann who stated “members of the collective have changed over time (with the exception of Sandra Coney, who has done every job on the magazine and is finally retiring from *Broadsheet* – but not from feminism – in 1985).”⁴ Coney spoke highly of the women she worked with on a number of occasions. In being introduced to WL, Coney discovered her “political home”:

The women I met at Auckland Women’s Liberation were my soul-mates. We talked and talked. No subject was taboo. We dissected husbands, motherhood, our bodies, sex, and who cleaned the loo. The shock waves were felt in our homes, and further afield. We spoke in schools, to men’s groups, and to women’s groups; we demonstrated, picketed and invaded men’s-only bars; and we wrote constantly to the newspapers.⁵

Being part of a group of women who founded a magazine that became a core aspect of New Zealand WL was significant. A sense of experience and knowledge that would have been influential for other feminists was conveyed. The founders of *Broadsheet* were “inspired” by feminist publications written at the time, and “collected up some writing, spent hours agonising over a name, then typed, designed and pasted up the whole magazine in a day. This historic event happened at my house where, between cutting and pasting, I fed the workers with soup.”⁶ Coney had reflected on the *Broadsheet* pieces she had included in *Out of the Frying Pan*:

³ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 7.

⁴ Dann, *Up from Under*, 126.

⁵ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 65.

⁶ Ibid.

Some of the pieces from *Broadsheet* that follow date from the earliest: they are very raw. I contemplated not including them here (through embarrassment), but decided I should because they reflect what the movement was like back then. It was energetic, cheeky, hot-headed and sometimes intemperate. Time and the sustained ridiculing this movement for social justice has encountered, have led to a different style of public comment. Feminist writing is now more restrained, thoughtful and sophisticated.⁷

There is a sense that while feminist involvement was an individual experience, the collective aspect of working with her fellow feminists was just as important and influential.

Sandra Coney's articles in early issues of *Broadsheet* magazine provide insight into initial feminist objectives and motivations. *Broadsheet's* introduction itself was regarded as necessary for feminism in New Zealand, as it was a tool for communication and the discussion of ideas.⁸ Coney's first *Broadsheet* editorial in July 1972 revealed:

Anyway we enthusiastically set to work and here's our baby and we hope you like her. Because she's for you. We want letters (for and against), articles, news, instances of discrimination, suggestions, personal stories, in fact, anything. Our baby is going to get bigger and better but we need your help. If you think WL is important then a newspaper is important.⁹

Coney also listed ways that women could contribute to the feminist cause that included "let the converted (or those on the way) know where the WL groups are and what they are doing," "keep existing groups in contact and friendly," and "get at the unconverted and convert them or make them realise they were with us all the time and just didn't know it."¹⁰

Furthermore, in September 1972 Coney wrote an advice piece titled 'Liberation begins at home,' which argued:¹¹

The first step is to get clued up. Women's Liberation isn't just a matter of Equal Pay, Abortion or more Child Care Centres. These are just the symptoms of the malaise, not the illness itself. Women's liberation questions the fundamental tenets of our society. It means questioning everything you've accepted before. It means never doing anything just because you're a woman. It means forgetting about 'woman's place', 'woman's role' and 'woman's work'.

⁷ Ibid., 65-66.

⁸ Coney, "The Feminist Press in New Zealand," 134-135.

⁹ Sandra Coney, "Editorial," *Broadsheet*, July 1972, 1.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Coney provided advice at a later stage in "A guide to consciousness-raising," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1979, 28-29.

A list of advice followed this introduction, which included a 'Plan of Action,' advice for 'The Home Front' and 'Your Offspring,' and 'You and Your Sisters.' Coney suggested under the heading "Join a Women's Liberation Group" that "Women's Liberation needs you. More womanpower means more results. And if you can get your husband to come too, you're really getting somewhere."¹² The necessity of feminism was emphasised, and the ability for *Broadsheet* to educate women about the gender inequality in their own lives. Coney responded to criticism that *Broadsheet* had received in a November 1973 editorial about 'women's sexuality.' She asked "what do these critics see as the cause of women's depressed status in our society and the cause of the continuing discrimination against us? Atrophied muscles? Smaller brain size? I see it uncompromisingly as sex." Double standards existed, where it appeared acceptable for women to be discriminated against in publications, but if feminists portrayed humour this was interpreted as inappropriate and 'anti-male.' Coney argued, "so any feminist magazine would be miserably failing in its duties by not mentioning the subject which is the root cause of its existence." The basis of the oppression women faced in Coney's opinion was reflected by this piece.¹³

Articles such as 'Liberation begins at home,' were reflective of the resources that feminists used to inform women of feminist objectives. The 'manifesto for the Women's Liberation Movement,' published in *Broadsheet* suggested WL was about "human equality," and that there was an aim was to "improve the quality of life of men, women and children in New Zealand. We see this as possible only through the improvement of the position of women in our society."¹⁴ Furthermore, the Sandra Coney Papers included various informative newsletters and pamphlets. For example, an Auckland Women's Liberation pamphlet revealed that an improvement of the position of women would influence a better society. It began with "Women's Liberation is a movement for human equality, a movement aimed to liberate women from the deeply embedded image of their own inferiority." Stereotypes and society's expectations of women were questioned, with the aim to be treated as a 'person.' What they demanded was 'free contraception,' '24 hour child care centres,' 'abortion on demand,' 'equal pay

¹² Sandra Coney, "Liberation begins at home," *Broadsheet*, September 1972, 8-10.

¹³ Sandra Coney, "Editorial: sex mania," *Broadsheet*, November 1973, 2.

¹⁴ Auckland Women's Liberation Group, "Excerpt from the Manifesto of the Auckland Women's Liberation Group," *Broadsheet*, September 1972, 2.

and opportunity,’ and ‘non-discriminatory education.’¹⁵ The Wellington Women’s Liberation Movement also provided an introduction document for the WLM, which outlined objectives such as “the repeal of abortion laws,” and welcomed women to attend meetings, sign up for their newsletter and to subscribe to “Up From Under, a women’s liberation paper which has done a great deal to spread feminist ideas in New Zealand.”¹⁶ Women’s groups produced newsletters, such as *Speak now, or...*, by the National Organisation for Women (NOW) and *Woman* by the Dunedin Collective. These documents demonstrated feminist organisation of events, such as Suffrage Day and meetings (as well as assessments of past events).¹⁷ Overall, what was included in the Sandra Coney Papers portrayed a collection of feminist resources that would have been useful for informing women of the aims of the second wave feminist movement.¹⁸

Reflections

Feminists provided an assessment of the progression of the second wave feminist movement at various stages through their written reflections in *Broadsheet*. Although these often occurred throughout the movement, there were particular moments when reflections seemed even more significant. This included IWY, where “the WLM was sceptical of both IWY and the government’s promotion of it,” and *Broadsheet*’s anniversaries.¹⁹ Sandra Coney’s editorial in July 1973 (*Broadsheet*’s 1st anniversary), acknowledged how “Broadsheet has rather an uneasy role in that it attempts to satisfy both the ardent feminists and those who may not have encountered women’s liberation ideas before,” and “I said in our first issue that Broadsheet was going to get better and better, and it has. We intend to go on to bigger and better things.”²⁰ The *Broadsheet*

¹⁵ Sandra Coney Papers, *An introduction to the aims and ideas of the Women’s Liberation Movement in Auckland*, WL Pamphlet, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (1) Folder 1, Ref: 98-162-1/01, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁶ Sandra Coney Papers, *The Wellington Women’s Liberation Movement*, newsletter, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (1).

¹⁷ Sandra Coney Papers, *Woman*, Dunedin Collective newsletter, 1 October 1973, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (2), 1971-1973, Folder 2, Ref: 98-162-1/02, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; *Speak now, or...*, National Organisation for Women newsletter, October 1973, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (2).

¹⁸ American WL documents were included in the Sandra Coney Papers which reflected similarities: Women’s liberation papers – American material (1), 1969-1975, Folder 8, Ref: 98-162-1/08; Women’s liberation papers – American material (2), 1972-1975, Folder 9, Ref: 98-162-1/09, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 42.

²⁰ Sandra Coney, “Editorial,” *Broadsheet*, July 1973, 2.

Collective experience and the production of the magazine itself, were often discussion points in a reflective sense at the time of *Broadsheet's* anniversaries. Changes to the magazine corresponded with *Broadsheet's* 2nd anniversary (July 1974), and were the focus of the article 'Introducing the new Broadsheet.' Coney believed "many women have come to look forward to their monthly Broadsheet as a breath of sanity amongst the sexist madness of the 1970s' society."²¹

Likewise, Sandra Coney's feminist perspective of IWY allowed for reflection on the progress of the movement. 'The Continuing Saga of IWY,' discussed feminist progress, as well as the concern with a lack of feminist input and criticism towards *Broadsheet*:

There are a number of reasons for our being outspoken. We don't want the population in general to regard what's being done for IWY as typical of what feminists want. The women's movement wants a restructuring of society, not a few mild reforms here and there. In many people's eyes, IWY is about women's rights. Therefore, IWY could be seen as a representative of what the women's movement wants. We want to correct that impression. Many people haven't really thought about IWY. They are accepting it in the form its being presented to them. We hope to make them think.

The significance of *Broadsheet* was also discussed, where "it is the function of a feminist magazine to articulate the views of the movement and we will continue to expose areas of dissatisfaction and injustice where necessary."²² IWY provided a regular discussion point for the meaning of the second wave feminist movement and it was common for it to be commented on by *Broadsheet* contributors.

Sandra Coney and Sharyn Cederman reflected on the origins of *Broadsheet* and the impact of IWY in July 1975. It was noted as 'ironic' that although feminists had been "very critical of IWY" it was "possibly because of that, our sales are increasing tremendously."²³ Even though the collective structure was a challenge at times, it was noted that "but we continue to adhere to this principle of the women's movement; that women should eschew a patriarchal hierarchal structure."²⁴ Another important point was that "some people criticise us for being negative and feel that we should get more enthusiastic about any small gains made in the struggle for equality. We are not grateful

²¹ Sandra Coney, "Introducing the new Broadsheet," *Broadsheet*, July 1974, 0.

²² Sandra Coney, "The Continuing Saga of IWY," *Broadsheet*, April 1975, 6-7.

²³ Sandra Coney and Sharyn Cederman, "How *Broadsheet* Grew," *Broadsheet*, July 1975, 31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

for small gains but feel we must remain aware of what still needs to be done and our ultimate goals.”²⁵ Both feminists were optimistic about the future:

Broadsheet is part of the ongoing movement that will one day see a society where people's lives are not determined by what sex they are, where sex roles do not exist. And we hope that when that happens Broadsheet will still be around pointing out injustices and encouraging change for the better.²⁶

Coney and Cederman's contemplation that “we're glad that we can provide a channel for all the material that is written, that other women can share their thoughts and ideas with one another and that the feminist movement can grow and progress by examining what we are doing and thinking,” demonstrated *Broadsheet's* influential role.²⁷

“Retrospective impressions” of IWY were contributed by Sandra Coney in 1976, where the title ‘IWY: the bitter end’ indicated feminist feeling towards this event. Coney described IWY as “like a big fat blood-sucking leech attached to the side of the women's movement, draining it dry.”²⁸ Coney was critical of The Committee on Women (COW) within this article.²⁹ COW was formed by the Labour Government in 1975, and Christine Dann noted that it “was a small, government-appointed, national committee with consultative rather than executive status, intended to provide a channel of communication between women's organisations and government.”³⁰ Coney was also critical of the implications for feminist efforts:

I really resent that depletion of feminist energy from effective projects which occurred because of IWY; my own energy and that of the feminists close to me whom I saw getting physically and mentally more exhausted and frustrated as the year went on. And one of the most distressing aspects was that it was other women, other feminists, who were pushing the whole thing and keeping it going. So IWY effectively set women against women to some extent.³¹

In conclusion, Coney wrote that “during IWY feminists had to put their energies into areas defined by a structure which did not grow out of the movement itself, but was

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 35.

²⁷ Ibid., 35.

²⁸ Sandra Coney, “IWY: the bitter end,” *Broadsheet*, May 1976, 18.

²⁹ Ibid. Coney was also critical of COW in an article where the change from COW to ACWA was discussed, see: “Reconstituted milking of COW,” *Broadsheet*, July/August 1981, 6-7.

³⁰ Dann, *Up From Under*, 42.

³¹ Coney, “IWY: the bitter end,” 18.

imposed from above by an international bureaucracy. In future, the grass roots feminist movement must define its own priorities and act upon them.”³²

Sandra Coney and Shona Abernathy’s interview with Sue Kedgley in October 1976, offered an additional thought-provoking perspective of what had occurred with IWY and the New Zealand society of this time. Coney and Abernathy wrote:

What’s happening overseas is interesting but I feel we must look more closely at what’s different about New Zealand men and women from the rest of the world rather than what’s similar. Women in New Zealand seem to have so much further to go than women in other developed countries. It seems such an enormous step to cope with power at the top when we haven’t even women with knowledge of how the system works at the bottom. The male ethic in New Zealand seems that much stronger.³³

Kedgley responded with a discussion about male culture, and how “another thing about New Zealand is that there is such stagnation, such deep-seated fear of change. There is a complete refusal to take responsibility which is why Muldoon is in power,” which she related to the lack of leadership in the feminist movement.³⁴ *Broadsheet*’s interpretation of IWY received a response by Kedgley – it could only be a “disaster...if you *allow* it to be.”³⁵

Often reflections depicted situations that feminists were critical of, as shown by Sandra Coney’s articles about IWY. The editorial ‘Iconoclasts of the women’s movement come out – you have nothing to lose but your silence,’ demonstrated issues with the movement’s structure.³⁶ Coney provided a reflection on this specific article in *Out of the Frying Pan*, where “the following editorial was written in October 1978, just before that event [Piha Congress 1978]. It discusses a trend towards political correctness, which I abhorred. It was stifling free discussion and frequently consisted of nothing more than name-calling.” This was noted as a time of great division and “there was no longer any feminism, but a multiplicity of ‘isms.’”³⁷ *Broadsheet* provided coverage of the UWCs, which conveyed a similar tone of concern. Coney’s article ‘The ‘Joy of Feminism’

³² Ibid., 19.

³³ Sandra Coney, Shona Abernathy and Sue Kedgley, “Sue Kedgley on the leaderless movement,” *Broadsheet*, October 1976, 7.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 6.

³⁶ Sandra Coney, “Editorial: Iconoclasts of the women’s movement come out – you have nothing to lose but your silence,” *Broadsheet*, October 1978, 6-7.

³⁷ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 81.

Room is cancelled' about the 1979 UWC conveyed debate within the movement, for example, between lesbian and heterosexual feminists where heterosexual feminists were judged as being too close to the oppressor.³⁸ This event represented a time when there was a "low point in feminist relationships."³⁹

Feminists were challenged to think about feminism from a number of angles, with the debate about feminist perspectives that ensued.⁴⁰ *Broadsheet* featured a series of articles that took into consideration different feminist perspectives, written by Phillida Bunkle, which were then discussed by other contributors. Sandra Coney responded to Bunkle's article about 'radical' feminism, with a discussion of this particular strand of feminism:

The primary insights of radical feminist politics: that all women belong to an oppressed class and all men oppress women, that relationships between men and women are power relationships and that an end to the oppression of women demands a profound restructuring of society, provide the best basic framework from which to approach the many and varied forms the oppression of women take.⁴¹

The ideas and arguments of the early feminists were not meant to be enshrined like the Ten Commandments. The sisterhood, individualism and open debate which characterised the early radical feminist movement (and which drew me and other women to it) have been crushed by a more recent imperative towards conformity, correct lines and an emphasis on divisions among women rather than on our common class interests.⁴²

At the time of *Broadsheet*'s 8th anniversary, Coney further described her outlook on society, where she had "always fought against what I saw as unfair, wrong and cruel...", and that "there is also a freedom to be as you will at *Broadsheet*, a welcoming of new ideas, the opportunity to be an individual as well as work collectively which I find lacking in many other parts of the movement."⁴³ Although the publication of 'editorials' in *Broadsheet* had stopped (due to the earlier *Broadsheet* "split"), in July/August 1982 Coney wrote 'A Rare Editorial' that marked the 10th anniversary of *Broadsheet*. The reflective experience of reading past editions was expressed:

These magazines chart our movement. Not as completely as we would wish. There are gaps – not enough about working class women, not enough about black women, not enough

³⁸ Sandra Coney, "The 'Joy of Feminism' Room is cancelled," *Broadsheet*, May 1979, 6-7.

³⁹ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 92.

⁴⁰ Coney's article "Why the women's movement ran out of steam" has relevance here.

⁴¹ Sandra Coney, "Comment," *Broadsheet*, December 1979, 32. Article written in italics.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Sandra Coney, "Broadsheet's Collective," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1980, 16-17.

about lesbians. But they give a shape and outline to our struggle, a sense that that's where we come from, and that's what we went through.⁴⁴

Coney also contributed to the article '*Broadsheet* 10 years on' in the same edition, which provided an in-depth history of *Broadsheet* and changes over time, which mirrored the movement.⁴⁵

IWY was once again a point of discussion in 1985, which was the year that the International Women's Decade came to an end. The article, 'End of what?' by Sandra Coney was an important piece because it reviewed the situation and looked ahead to the future. *Broadsheet's* stance was explained, where "*Broadsheet* never did have much truck with this United Nations initiative on women. The decade grew out of International Women's Year, 1975. Over that year *Broadsheet* published editorial after editorial, article after article, pulling IWY apart."⁴⁶ Sources of dissatisfaction included the available funding, COW, and the lack of centrality of women's concerns. This had directly impacted on feminist work because "feminists threw their energy into IWY in a spirited effort to redeem it, thus weakening our own structures and networks." Coney argued, "the UN End of Decade is not a time to back pat, to celebrate, or to shut up shop. The most it should be, is a time to pause; a time to review what we have done, and what we have not done then to turn our very best efforts to the tasks ahead."⁴⁷

One of the more significant reflection pieces was published in October 1985, with the end of Sandra Coney's 14 year position as editor of *Broadsheet*. 'Sandra Coney' was the title of an interview conducted by Pat Rosier and Jenny Rankine.⁴⁸ This interview included a series of questions about being part of the *Broadsheet* Collective, problems within the movement and her personal views on feminist issues. Coney reflected:

I've developed my own writing in **Broadsheet**. There's been some good writing in the magazine. It's really good to see your stuff being published, and to be able to check out any changes beforehand. That doesn't happen anywhere else in New Zealand. **Broadsheet's** been valuable for the Left, for want of a better word, as a forum of ideas, and a place for women to have their say. It's the one very visible aspect of the women's movement that we absolutely control.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Sandra Coney, "A Rare Editorial," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1982, 0.

⁴⁵ Sandra Coney and Vanya Shaw, "Broadsheet 10 years on," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1982, 12-19.

⁴⁶ Sandra Coney, "End of what?," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1985, 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Coney, Rosier and Rankine, "Sandra Coney," 34-37.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 37.

Overall, reflective pieces by Coney, notably her articles about IWY and *Broadsheet* anniversaries, were a valuable contribution that expressed much about the nature of the second wave feminist movement.

Representation

Feminists contended with the issue of representation in regards to themselves and the second wave feminist movement. Often it was the media who created a hindrance in this regard. As Christine Dann suggested in *Up From Under*, “the WLM has two particular bones to pick with the media. First, there is the actual content of the advertisements...secondly, these same mass media are responsible for distorting the WLM and its activities to the public.”⁵⁰ There was a need for events such as the UWCs to be reported through feminist eyes so as to avoid misrepresentation. Sandra Coney, who had been a part of the 1973 UWC organising committee, noted how “the appalling media coverage of the event provoked an outcry.”⁵¹ In addition, media issues were discussed in *Out of the Frying Pan*:

Male journalists had a field day with women’s liberation, lampooning, misreporting and showing such deliberate bias that there came a time when they were banned from reporting some women’s events. Many of the following pieces reflect that preoccupation with the way the media was depicting feminism. They also illustrate the crudeness of the public comment made about feminism and the rigid stereotypes we were trying to change.⁵²

Feminists faced a challenge particularly with the media, which only highlighted how there was a great need for a New Zealand feminist magazine. Coney’s January 1973 Editorial ‘opPRESSed’, noted the problem of feminists labelled as extremists:

Things like displays in the Building Centre, letters and telegrams to MP’s and newspapers, deputations to City Councils, talks to women’s groups and schools, even Pro-Abortion marches and Women’s Liberationists chaining themselves to the railings in the Christchurch Cathedral Square (they got permission first) hardly constitute extreme action...yet so sensitive are we to the generally unsympathetic attitude of many people to our movement that we were forced to play it cool on a number of occasions when we

⁵⁰ Dann, *Up From Under*, 101.

⁵¹ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 72. See also: Sandra Coney, Anne Parson and Auckland Workers’ Education Association, *United Womens [sic] Convention* (Auckland: United Women’s Convention Book Committee, 1973).

⁵² Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 66.

thought our public image might endanger support which we needed for various projects which we undertook.⁵³

A central issue was the way in which the media reported on events to do with the second wave feminist movement – “how are people going to learn that our movement is a serious one if the only time it is mentioned is when some clown in a newspaper office wants a bit of a giggle.” To combat this problem, Coney implied that “1973 has to be the year we take the new papers [sic] on and inform the people of our true message.”⁵⁴

The Sandra Coney Papers included a number of newspaper clippings and articles that depicted the media’s representation of topics such as the Germaine Greer Tour, abortion, equal pay and Suffrage Day in the early 1970s. A selection of newspaper articles directly discussed the issue of representation of feminism in the early 1970s. For example, a 1971 *New Zealand Herald* newspaper article titled ‘Militancy Never Feature Of Women’s Lib. Says Spokesman’ discussed misrepresentation, and Sue Kedgley attempted to challenge the “militant” label WL had gained and the accusations that feminists were “berating the suburban housewife.” The article noted, “in a statement Miss Kedgley said that all those accusations were unjust and incorrect. They reflected a general misunderstanding of the aims of the women’s liberation movement in New Zealand.”⁵⁵ The *New Zealand Herald* newspaper article ‘Women’s Lib. is out to free men as well as unhappy women,’ stated:

The popular image labels Women’s Lib. as a radical movement of man-hating lesbians who have burnt their bras, thrown away their cosmetics and taken up karate – a sort of female Vietcong set on inciting suburban housewives to rise up and dominate men. Behind its tarnished image, Women’s Lib. certainly has a radical purpose.⁵⁶

This article included an explanation of WL from the perspective of feminists Anne Gilbert, Toni Church, Sue Kedgley, Kaye Turner and Sharyn Cederman.⁵⁷ Feminists attempted to change the public’s misperception of the movement.

⁵³ Sandra Coney, “Editorial: oppressed,” *Broadsheet*, January 1973, 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Sandra Coney Papers, “Militancy Never Feature Of Women’s Lib. Says Spokesman,” *New Zealand Herald*, 21 September 1971, 4., in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (1).

⁵⁶ Sandra Coney Papers, Pat McCarthy, “Women’s Lib. is out to free men as well as unhappy women,” *The New Zealand Herald Weekend Magazine*, January 8, 1972, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (1).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Sandra Coney also wrote about the stigma attached to feminism in an editorial titled 'Some New Thoughts on Bra-burning.' Coney described a situation where she had taken a UWC poster into a bookshop and had been asked whether the poster was related to WL. Coney "denied" WL connections and was personally "overcome with rage at myself for what I then realised was putting down the movement."⁵⁸ Coney noted:

I get sad now when I hear of feminist groups who don't use the word "women's liberation" in the name of their groups because it has such "unfortunate connotations", because women's liberation has got "a bad name". It has always been an anathema to me that anyone can disagree with any movement working towards human equality, freeing people from oppression.⁵⁹

Furthermore, this discussion depicted how the label 'bra-burners' had supposedly negative connotations for the feminist movement, how it had been treated by the media "as a means of ridiculing the movement," and that wearing a bra was interpreted as oppressive. Coney concluded this editorial with the suggestion:

So don't be quick to put down women who saw bras as a symbol of female oppression and say "We wouldn't do a thing like that". If you do you're falling into the trap of putting down other movement women to get approval and further your own ends. Next time someone says to me "You Women Libbers – "you're just bra-burners." I'll say "well it's not a bad place to start."⁶⁰

With the misrepresentation of feminism and women in motion, it appeared to be necessary for second wave feminists to have an outlet that enabled them to revolt against sexism and deal with the frustration of misrepresentation. *Broadsheet* established a column that "became a regular feature for a couple of years" called 'Kicking against the pricks.'⁶¹ This featured both written and visual examples of misogyny – sexist words and cartoons, for example. Sandra Coney's name was often published within this column, although in March 1974 Coney wrote, "I would like to see "Kicking against the Pricks" become a column where all feminists can do a bit of kicking."⁶² Coney's discussion of this column in *Out of the Frying Pan* added further context, where it was noted as the 'humour' column and "although we were anxious that

⁵⁸ Sandra Coney, "Editorial: Some new thoughts on bra-burning," *Broadsheet*, May 1974, 2.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Sandra Coney and Vanya Shaw, "Broadsheet 10 years on," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1982, 13.

⁶² Sandra Coney, "Kicking against the pricks," *Broadsheet*, March 1974, 17.

this might be seen as anti-male, it seemed an entirely apt title for a page that would be taking some broadsides at the worst excesses of male chauvinism.”⁶³

The Position of Women

Sandra Coney contributed numerous articles which highlighted the position of women. This included both public and private spaces, such as gender inequality in the work environment and within family. Pat Rosier noted in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine* that “feminist writers are among the few who keep women present in the family as themselves as well as in their roles of ‘mother’ or daughter.”⁶⁴ Coney highlighted the status of the ‘housewife’ role in a 1973 article titled, ‘Everything you always wanted to know about housewives...but never bothered to ask.’ The value of this role impacted on the way women were valued. Coney noted:

For, although, the housewife is being constantly told that her job is the most rewarding and satisfying a woman can undertake and that she forms the backbone of society, she is also stereotyped as an unthinking cabbage and drop-out from the “real” world. The house-wife’s status, and with it her self-esteem, has been lowered to the point where a woman, when asked what she does, will answer, “I don’t work. I’m just a housewife.”

Furthermore, the housewife role as a ‘choice’ was discussed, and a variety of women’s stories followed Coney’s discussion.⁶⁵ Christine Dann noted in *Up From Under*, “the myth that women’s liberationists are not interested in housework and housewives is perhaps as big as (and more insidious than) the myth that to be a women’s liberationist you have to burn your bra.” This particular issue had long been on the feminist agenda.⁶⁶

As women often found themselves in a position that required financial assistance, legislation, laws and attitudes in regards to the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) and the promotion of traditional family structures were of concern to feminists. Inequality within the home, and the need for greater child care contributed to the way women were reliant on outside support. Feminists believed that “economic independence is the

⁶³ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 68.

⁶⁴ Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 244.

⁶⁵ Sandra Coney, “Everything you always wanted to know about housewives...but never bothered to ask,” *Broadsheet*, November 1973, 9-13.

⁶⁶ Dann, *Up From Under*, 66-68.

foundation of other forms of independence.”⁶⁷ Coney interviewed solo mothers at a house called Potiki Mana established by the Single Parents Association.⁶⁸ Coney had wanted to find out “what sort of circumstances had driven them to seek help from the association and to talk about their money problems, social welfare etc.”⁶⁹ It was hard for women to be economically independent. Coney also interviewed separated women and engaged with their experiences, which included the “sheer relief of escaping from an intolerable situation” to “financial problems loom large for separated women.”⁷⁰ The article ‘Brides of the State’ also illustrated attitudes towards solo mothers. The lives of women lacked privacy, while the process of receiving the DPB was demoralising. The title of this article regarded solo mothers as “the victims of moralistic public attitudes and of snoopers in the Social Welfare Department.”⁷¹ The government had shown that it wanted “women married, economically dependent on a man and fulfilling their traditional function.” Feminists demonstrated an empathetic understanding and it was viewed as positive that “the victimisation is coming out into the open,” while “all women must support the struggle of solo parents to have the benefit as of right and to have the right to form relationships without the fear of economic reprisal.”⁷²

Solo mothers gained further support in the 1977 article ‘Vicious attack on solo mothers, reductions in DPB,’ which discussed similarities between a Royal Commission’s Report and “the report of the Domestic Purposes Benefit Review Committee,” that conveyed women as “emotional, irrational, selfish, parasitic, scheming, childlike creatures who must have decisions about their futures made for them: the belief in the inviolability and superiority of marriage and two-parent families.”⁷³ Receiving the DPB was deemed as a reason why women would leave their marriages, which demonstrated how the idea of traditional family structures was pushed. What had been promoted by the “DPB Review committee...would virtually trap women in unhappy marriages.”⁷⁴ Coney observed the recommendations of the report, which failed to look at economic and social causes, and stated “that women go on the benefit as an easy option...this is an incredible insult,”

⁶⁷ Ibid., 65.

⁶⁸ Sandra Coney, “We visit Potiki Mana,” *Broadsheet*, April 1974, 5-10, 14.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁰ Sandra Coney, “Talking to separated women,” *Broadsheet*, April 1975, 26-29.

⁷¹ Sandra Coney, “Brides of the State,” *Broadsheet*, May 1977, 12.

⁷² Ibid., 32.

⁷³ Sandra Coney, “Vicious attack on solo mothers, reductions in DPB,” *Broadsheet*, July 1977, 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 7.

and “the report makes it clear that women on the DPB get their money conditionally, not as of right.”⁷⁵ *Broadsheet*, as well as other feminist outlets, had written a submission in support of solo mothers. But Coney believed “we must have ended up in the rubbish bin. Or perhaps our submission was sent to Wanganui so the names of women on it could be filed under subversives.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, divorce and equality were discussed in the article ‘Family Proceedings Bill – sticking plaster for fractured marriages,’ where Coney stated:

Once upon a time the Government invented a Committee on the Family. Comprised solely of middle-aged MPs the Committee has kept a low profile but am I paranoid to suspect that it’s behind the recent spate of bills, reports and legislation designed to keep families intact no matter what the cost to women?⁷⁷

Society emphasised the maintenance of family structures, and Coney noted that better pay and the DPB had meant it was more “economically viable” to be independent from marriage – so there was a push for methods such as couples’ counselling. There were issues with the influence of male lawyers and social welfare officers, and:

The whole Bill smacks of backlash (“You wanted equality, girls, well here it is”) and takes no account of factors like women’s generally lower incomes, lack of child care and after school care, scarcity of part-time jobs and lack of job skills which make it difficult for women to make a go of it on their own.⁷⁸

The result of this Bill was something Coney advised feminists to watch out for.

Feminist concerns with child care were also closely linked to the position of women. The article ‘I try to get the children to be sick in the weekend...’ conveyed what was expected of working mothers within a male work environment:

When a woman enters the workforce she does so as an honorary male worker. She is expected to slot into a male work or career structure. The fact that society also expects her to have other responsibilities to children, husband and house is not taken into account. The government believes she should be at home so has a policy not to provide day care.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁷ Sandra Coney, “Family proceedings Bill – sticking plaster for fractured marriages,” *Broadsheet*, March 1979, 9. Article written in italics.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Sandra Coney, ““I try to get the children to be sick in the weekend...”,” *Broadsheet*, September 1979, 10.

Women's work was viewed as "pin money." The experiences of working mothers were included in this piece, such as Dawn Anderson who had a lack of control over money within her relationship, and Susan Chandler who felt it a challenge juggling the responsibility for her children and work, in cases of sick children and school holidays. These stories disclosed the lack of work skills that had been acquired and being directed into work arenas considered 'traditionally' for women (which were often low paid).⁸⁰ In a *Broadsheet* 'Comment' section, Coney explained what was referred to as 'Family Day Care.' This was "an organised network of mothers (the "carers") caring for up to two other children in the carer's home for up to 40 hours a week." Reasons why feminists needed to oppose this, linked to the responsibility of child care. 'Family Day Care' would not solve fundamental issues such as women generally having the responsibility, there was a lack of pay, and women remained in the home. This environment was not considered of benefit to children either. Coney reminded *Broadsheet* readers that "one of the original women's liberation demands was for 24-hour free childcare. This is what we still want."⁸¹ Furthermore, in March 1981 a letter that Coney had written was published in *Broadsheet* which discussed Family Day Care, and it also allowed for more of an insight into the radical feminist perspective that informed her outlook:

When analysing any situation, event or action, a radical feminist perspective demands that one asks "Is this good for women?" In other words does this situation/event/action advance the liberation of women, or does it, rather, maintain the status quo, or, worse, further women's oppression.

And, "as a radical feminist I can only see the proliferation of Family Day Care taking us further from our goal of quality, free, 24-hour day care."⁸² The ability for women to have equality in the working environment was evidently influenced by the issue of child care.

Women who did work in a public environment faced challenges such as 'women's' work roles or male-dominated working environments. The article 'Occupation 'slushie': or the seven most popular jobs for women,' depicted typical 'women's' jobs and women's experiences. Sandra Coney and Hilary Haines had talked to women who were nurses, clerical workers, shop assistants, factory workers, teachers and those in service

⁸⁰ Ibid., 10-15.

⁸¹ Sandra Coney, "Comment," *Broadsheet*, May 1980, 6-7.

⁸² Sandra Coney, "Letter: Family Day Care revisited," *Broadsheet*, March 1981, 2-3.

industries. Issues included unequal pay, working conditions, a lack of promotion, and separatism in the workplace.⁸³ ‘Our Quest for Wonder Woman,’ demonstrated the opposite of the previous article, where Coney and Haines had talked “to women in occupations usually regarded as male preserves.”⁸⁴ This involved research at Auckland University, and the interpretation of statistics in relation to subjects taken/gender. It was quite an effort to find women in areas regarded as ‘men’s’ areas of work. Most women interviewed had had successful careers, although there was a hint of issues of acceptance by male workers, and having to prove themselves as capable of that role as a woman.⁸⁵

Another relevant article was published in November 1980. Coney updated readers on an article which related to the Human Rights Commission and equal opportunities in what was considered to be a male work environment (‘The Ocean Beach Freezing Company V. The Women,’ by Janet Moore in September 1980, discussed a tribunal case where, “in July the Equal Opportunities Tribunal heard the case of three women who were unable to train to become qualified butchers because of their employer’s anti-woman policies.”).⁸⁶ Coney’s update in ‘Mincemeat at Ocean Beach’ revealed the women had won their case. It was found that there was a lack of acceptance of women in that particular work environment, and “resistance to women on the killing chain no doubt derives from the additional financial remuneration and status that accrues from this position.”⁸⁷ In male-dominated work environments, women faced discrimination and it would have been worse when men outnumbered women. ‘A few problems being the only girl’ conveyed harassment that functioned within male-dominated environments, through an interview with engineering student Colleen Brown. Brown had written a letter to *Broadsheet* about the situation, which Coney responded to:

I sent her some articles written by women in similar male-dominated tertiary institutions, and suggested she might like to come and talk to me about her situation...here was a young woman who had done what we, in the feminist movement, urge young girls to consider – she had gone into a male-dominated training course, and there she had been subjected to unceasing undermining harassment.

⁸³ Sandra Coney and Hilary Haines, “Occupation ‘slushie’: or the seven most popular jobs for women,” *Broadsheet*, March 1973, 3-5.

⁸⁴ Sandra Coney and Hilary Haines, “Our Quest for Wonder Woman,” *Broadsheet*, April 1973, 6.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁸⁶ Janet Moore, “The Ocean Beach Freezing Company V the Women,” *Broadsheet*, September 1980, 6-7.

⁸⁷ Sandra Coney, “Mincemeat at Ocean Beach,” *Broadsheet*, November 1980, 8.

Coney was upset by the harassment Brown faced, and this article acted as a form of awareness for other women.⁸⁸

Sonja Davies is an important feminist to mention within this context of women's work and Sandra Coney's scholarship. Davies had both trade union and political experience, while Coney contributed interviews that provided an insight into the situation of women's work from Davies' perspective. The Sandra Coney Papers also included a relevant document related to Davies' work, which was a letter about the introduction of a publication titled 'Te Taki Taki,' a "newsletter published by the W.A.C" [New Zealand Labour Party – Women's Advisory Council], that expressed a need for women to have greater authority when it came to policy-making.⁸⁹ In December 1977, Coney and Christine Dann conducted an interview with Davies (who was at this time the Industrial Co-ordinator of the Wellington Shop Assistants' Union) which questioned unemployment levels and the implications for women who had lost jobs – "it is difficult to pick up because the women don't appear in the unemployment statistics. They don't register, because if they are married they're not going to get the unemployment benefit."⁹⁰ Coney and Dann also interviewed Davies about the Industrial Law Reform Act, where "in mid-December the Industrial Law Reform Act passed into law with the Youth Rates clause defeated." This had a connection to equal pay and voluntary unionism, and Davies thought there was a threat to equality in the workplace, as it gave greater control to employers. The final question asked was, "in what ways are youth rates specifically going to affect women?" Davies replied:

There is no evidence that youth rates will do anything to help unemployment. But if employers do put on young people at the expense of older ones, and particularly working mothers, then it's like a tube of toothpaste. If you stuff it in one end, it comes out the other. Simply it means we are going to have a hidden statistic of unemployment because of a women's failure to register as unemployed and they won't be encouraged to register as unemployed.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Sandra Coney, "A few problems being the only girl," *Broadsheet*, December 1980, 16-18. Coney also interviewed women who were in 'traditionally' men's jobs in the article "'Who's that under the hard hat?'" *Broadsheet*, March 1982, 10-12.

⁸⁹ Sandra Coney Papers, Women's Advisory Council of the N.Z. Labour Party, *te takitaki newsletter*, Vol.1, No.1, July 1973, in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (3), 1973-1974, Folder 3, Ref: 98-162-1/03, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁹⁰ Sandra Coney and Christine Dann, "Home Jane," *Broadsheet*, December 1977, 7.

⁹¹ Sandra Coney, Christine Dann and Sonja Davies, "Women's Work is nearly done," *Broadsheet*, January 1984, 15.

Overall, Davies appeared to be a major point of contact in *Broadsheet* for discussions about women and employment. Coney also interviewed Davies in a five-part interview series titled 'The Davies Dossier' in 1982.⁹²

Women's Influence

Sandra Coney's scholarship expressed the second wave feminist expectation that women in positions of influence should help women on a wider level, and gender inequality needed to remain a priority. Women were prone to criticism within a parliamentary political context. Coney and Val Cole interviewed National MP Marilyn Waring in 'Feminism is Bigger than Any Political Party Consideration,'⁹³ where criticism was evident through the questions asked. Waring responded to one question that "the only possibility of getting change is through the system. While it's a very frustrating place to be, because you just feel you're bashing your head against a brick wall the whole time, I still really think it's necessary, not just for me, but for a hell of a whole lot more feminists to be there."⁹⁴ Feminist concerns were also discussed, such as abortion and child care. In conclusion, Cole and Coney wrote:

whether we interpret a feminist voice in parliament as the thin end of a wedge of the woman-strength which is going to revolutionise society or whether we interpret Marilyn's statement that her electorate comes first as evidence of her being sucked into a system which we fundamentally oppose is, predictably, a matter for debate.⁹⁵

Further critique of women in parliament was evident in Coney's 'Female Nats still have stings' article, which suggested that although women were in parliament, it did not mean that their position would benefit women in terms of gender equality.⁹⁶ Coney had provided a feminist perspective of women politicians such as Margaret Shields, Fran Wilde, Ruth Richardson and Helen Clark at the time of the 1981 election,⁹⁷ and in 1984, Coney commented on new women in parliament: Anne Fraser, Judy Keall, Annette King, Margaret Austin and Katherine O'Regan.⁹⁸

⁹² *Broadsheet*, May, June, September, October and November, 1982.

⁹³ Sandra Coney, Val Cole and Marilyn Waring, "Feminism is Bigger than Any Political Party Consideration," *Broadsheet*, November 1976, 14-17.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15, 17.

⁹⁶ Sandra Coney, "Female Nats still have stings," *Broadsheet*, September 1982, 8-9.

⁹⁷ Sandra Coney, "Four More Women in Parliament," *Broadsheet*, January/February 1982, 10-11.

⁹⁸ Sandra Coney, "New women members of parliament," *Broadsheet*, September 1984, 16-17.

Government intervention that proposed to give women greater authority was often critiqued by feminists due to the conservative nature of such proposals. An example was the Select Committee on Women's Rights. Christine Dann explained in *Up from Under* that the 1972 Labour Government had had an intention to "look seriously at the status of women, with a view of introducing anti-discrimination legislation, and the committee was believed to be the first step in the process." Submissions were made by feminist groups, which took a great amount of energy. Dann stated that "women labour under particular difficulties when it comes to this sort of work. As Sandra Coney introducing the Auckland WL submission remarked, 'It is hard to explain to one's children on a brilliantly sunny day that the beach is out because their mother is working on submissions to Parliament.'"⁹⁹ Coney expressed concern with the Select Committee on Women's Rights, and discussed the submissions and Select Committee Report in 1975. There was a lack of knowledge about second wave feminist aims and "feminist awareness" shown by women in relation to discussions (seminars for example) about the Report. Coney was also concerned with structures and IWY:

As a result of the structures set up during IWY the government, whenever it wants to find out "what the women of New Zealand want" can go to the Committee on Women or the IWY regional committees and get the answers it wants. It can ignore "the lunatic fringe" and get more comfortable responses. IWY was tailor made to cope with the Report of the Select Committee.¹⁰⁰

The Select Committee on Women's Rights was further discussed in April 1977 by Coney in relation to the Humans Rights Bill, which had been the result of submissions made ("fruit of our labour"). However, "the Bill itself looks to me like a slap in the face for New Zealand women." It was judged as too reformist:

Why *did* they bother with the Select Committee, the Report of that Committee and the seminars? The Report of the Select Committee on Women's Rights was a reasonably progressive document within the reform tradition but the Bill takes virtually no notice of the Report and does not recognise that women suffer forms of oppression different from any other class of people.

There's nothing in the proposed Bill to ensure that there will be even one woman on the administrating body, the Commission. If there *is* a token woman you can guarantee she'll

⁹⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 42.

¹⁰⁰ Sandra Coney, "The conservative conspiracy," *Broadsheet*, October 1975, 6. Coney also referred to the IWY again in regards to coverage of a COW conference in the article "The PM's conference: Trying to change the unchangeable committee on women," *Broadsheet*, May 1976, 6-8.

be over 50, middle-classed, and owed some political favour which she will have earned by behaving herself and not rocking the boat; and she won't start doing it now either.

Coney also stated an ideal that underpinned the second wave feminist movement – “what the Bill says to me is that we've got to do it ourselves, in our own way, and, really, we've known that all along.”¹⁰¹

The Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs (ACWA) was discussed in an article titled ‘Is Big Sister Watching?’ The introduction noted “Sandra Coney displays a bit of healthy paranoia about the ACWA's relationship with the feminist movement.” Concern rested with the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service, and Coney revealed, “when I explained to her [the secretariat] the sort of feminist concern expressed over the years at government-appointed bodies having access to such information she expressed surprise.” This was information about feminists and feminist groups and Coney stated:

In the good old days feminists displayed a degree of suspicion about the then Committee on Women. Given feminist experience overseas, where, for instance, American women discovered the whole movement had been infiltrated and scrutinised by the FBI, they asked how much we should trust a government-appointed body with information about the people, actions, and internal workings of the women's movement. Were we just making it easier for them to know what we were doing?¹⁰²

A further example was the Ministry of Women's Affairs, who received reasonable consideration from various feminist perspectives in *Broadsheet* during the 1980s, and was created under the Labour Government elected in 1984.¹⁰³ Christine Dann provided an explanation which gave further context to the Ministry, where it had been interpreted “as the establishment culmination of the renewed and radical feminist agitation of the 1970s.” The WLM had had a political influence, and was regarded as:

a pressure group which has to be recognised and accommodated, not occasionally consulted as an afterthought – and the Ministry of Women's Affairs is one of the results of this changed state of affairs. However, it is not a WLM creation, and the WLM will continue to maintain the partly supportive, partly critical relations with it that it has had with its governmental predecessors, COW and the Advisory Committee on Women's Affairs.¹⁰⁴

In November 1984, Coney contributed an article ‘Proposed Maori Women's Secretariat’ about the proposal for “an autonomous seven-member Maori Women's Secretariat

¹⁰¹ Sandra Coney, “Editorial: Human Rights Bill another placebo,” *Broadsheet*, April 1977, 12.

¹⁰² Sandra Coney, “Is Big Sister Watching?,” *Broadsheet*, June 1982, 6.

¹⁰³ Dann, *Up From Under*, 26.

¹⁰⁴ Dann, *Up From Under*, 44.

within the ministry.” Maori women wanted greater authority over areas which were of central concern such as the socio-economic situation. Coney spoke to Ripeka Evans, who saw this move as adding value to the Ministry as a whole. And in conclusion, Coney wrote:

This Maori women’s initiative, if acted on, will move the Ministry of Women away from the tokenism of its predecessors – the Committee on Women and the Advisory Committee on Women’s Affairs. Not only that, it maximises the chance that the Ministry of Women will be able to make important changes for all New Zealand women and it sets a model for other government ministries.¹⁰⁵

The work of women in ‘influential’ positions and whether they could improve the lives of women via their work, as well as groups created to benefit women that had been instigated by the government, were thoroughly questioned. Trust and feminist input seemed to be of central importance.

New Zealand Race Relations, Diversity and WL

Broadsheet magazine and New Zealand second wave feminist secondary literature conveyed the unique debate that arose between Maori and Pakeha feminists.¹⁰⁶ Sandra Coney’s awareness of difference and support for Maori women and political activists, such as Donna Awatere and Rebecca Evans, provided inspiration for the topic of this thesis. The Sandra Coney Papers included a folder that related to the 1978 Women’s Liberation Congress, with papers that included: ‘Organisation and the Women’s Liberation Movement’ by Christine Dann, ‘Some Ideas for Maori Women’ by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, and ‘Maori Women’ by Donna Awatere and Rebecca Evans.¹⁰⁷ Such feminist papers demonstrated that there was an array of different feminist perspectives within the movement, as was evident in accounts of feminist gatherings such as the UWCs. During the 1985 interview ‘Sandra Coney,’ Pat Rosier and Jenny Rankine asked, “how do you feel about Maori Sovereignty?” Coney noted the significance of Donna Awatere’s analysis and revealed:

¹⁰⁵ Sandra Coney and Ripeka Evans, “Proposed Maori Women’s Secretariat,” *Broadsheet*, November 1984, 6-7.

¹⁰⁶ Hayes, “Race relations in New Zealand Through an Analysis of *Broadsheet* Magazine 1972-1989.”

¹⁰⁷ Sandra Coney Papers, Papers relating to the Women’s Liberation Congress, 1972-1975, Folder 11, Ref: 98-162-1/11, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

It was very exciting, it really challenged and extended my own thinking. No-one else was saying what Donna was saying. It was important for everyone in New Zealand, not the least for Pakeha feminists because we had really ignored the existence of Maori women, working class women and other groups while we'd got on with our assertiveness training...It was very important that all the things that Donna said were printed.¹⁰⁸

Coney demonstrated an in-depth understanding of New Zealand race relations through her *Broadsheet* articles and activism.

There was a close connection between race relations and a wider acknowledgment of difference within the movement. Sandra Coney discussed the significance of less 'traditionally' regarded feminist issues in her article 'Coalition Politics,' at a time when there had been "no, or very little, discussion or evaluation of their effectiveness, or their effect on the movement as we have known it." In relation to the question of what issues should be addressed by feminists, Coney noted, "to sacrifice one's Self, has always been part of being a woman. Thus a call for feminists to concern themselves with a wider range of issues than previously, fell on fertile ground."¹⁰⁹ Even so, there were a number of questions that needed further investigation, such as "is an issue a feminist issue if it affects both men and women in substantially the same way (nuclear power, peace etc)? What will happen to issues which specifically affect women (rape, abortion, violence against wives) if we divert our attention into new areas?"¹¹⁰ Coney referred to the 'New Right' – "what's **new** about the New Right is that it has made the women's movement and feminist issues its targets." There was a sense of urgency for discussions to take place, due to the evident impact it was having on the movement.¹¹¹

Discontent with New Zealand race relations featured more prominently in *Broadsheet* during the early 1980s. Coney spoke to activists involved in the 1981 Springbok Tour about "the role of women in the struggles." Donna Awatere, Rebecca Evans, Kitch Cuthburt and Mereana Pitman told Coney of the women's strength, yet their vulnerable position as women within violent protests. Cuthburt believed "the women's movement as a growth movement has helped the strength and power of women."¹¹² Coney interpreted Evans' point of view that "she dreams that come February 1982 that

¹⁰⁸ Coney, Rosier and Rankine, "Sandra Coney," 35-26.

¹⁰⁹ Sandra Coney, "Coalition Politics," *Broadsheet*, September 1981, 26.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* See also: Sandra Coney's contribution to the article "May 24: Can 20,000 Women Be Wrong," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1983, 20-21.

¹¹² Sandra Coney et al., "Women against the Tour," *Broadsheet*, September 1981, 9.

dedicated band of Waitangi demonstrators will be joined by the thousands of New Zealanders who are currently on the march against racism.”¹¹³ In 1982, Coney also interviewed Rebecca Evans, Sharon Hawke and Lyn Schnauer, who were involved with the events at Bastion Point.¹¹⁴ Coney asked questions about how the protest had become a “women’s protest.” It was the relationship between Maori and Pakeha feminists that gained some reflection, and Coney noted that “most of the women are coming through feminism because the awareness of your own oppression makes you empathise with the oppression of blacks.”¹¹⁵ In June 1982, Coney also wrote in support of fellow activist Rebecca Evans in the article ‘Evans attacked,’ where Evans had been judged as having prejudiced understandings in relation to a speaking tour she had partaken in:

Evans is not phased by these attacks. They just provide further evidence of the growing strength and power of the Maori movement and of black feminism. While male-dominated left groups continue to insist that the workers’ struggle is the only revolutionary struggle, and that all else must be subsumed to that, the black movement with its triple focus on racism, capitalism and sexism appeals to the very constituency the old guard socialist groups fail to move.¹¹⁶

Coney demonstrated an understanding of what Maori women had depicted that needed attention in New Zealand society.

Sandra Coney not only conducted interviews with women involved in events such as the Springbok Tour and Waitangi Day protests, she was also an active participant. Coney’s Waitangi Day protest arrest experience was topical in *Broadsheet* in 1982, which provided a feminist space to share this experience, and for support to be shown. *Broadsheet* published ‘The Face of Protest in New Zealand 1982,’ which was “the text of the submission to Judge Nicholson made by Sandra Coney at her deposition hearing on a charge of assaulting the Governor General.”¹¹⁷ It enabled the event to be written about from Coney’s perspective. This conveyed a critical view of the police:

The police are playing the key role in trying to stifle the voices of those of us who are fighting against oppression, be it blacks, women, homosexuals and lesbians, and the working class. And they are becoming increasingly heavy handed as those forms of oppression worsen with the downturn in the economy and as the struggle for freedom becomes more intense.

¹¹³ Ibid., 11.

¹¹⁴ Sandra Coney et al., “The Bastion Point Thirteen,” *Broadsheet*, April 1982, 6-8.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁶ Sandra Coney, “Evans attacked,” *Broadsheet*, June 1982, 6-7.

¹¹⁷ Sandra Coney, “The Face of Protest in New Zealand 1982,” *Broadsheet*, May 1982, 5.

Coney's stance on 'celebrations' of the Treaty of Waitangi were also made clear:

Now, some of us Pakehas want to take responsibility for the way our race has ripped off the Maoris for over a century, and take steps to stop it, to fight white racism in New Zealand. I took part in the Waitangi protests in 1982, because to be passive about racism, is to be party to perpetuating it. If you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem.¹¹⁸

Coney revealed in *Out of the Frying Pan*, "I had to prove I had thrown the eggs to clear myself of the golf ball charge. In effect, I had no case."¹¹⁹

Camille Guy's article, 'The Queen was not amused,' depicted how Coney was denied bail and for "eight days remanded in Mt Eden women's prison."¹²⁰ Confusion existed in relation to the exact object which had been thrown at the Governor General. This event was not only significant because of the injustice, but the fact that "such a sentence echoes some ordered during the Springbok tour which were clearly designed to stifle further political protest. One wonders whether such insidious forms of political repression will become standard for courts dealing with political protesters," in relation to a 'punishment bond.'¹²¹ Guy also raised thought-provoking questions such as "why was she protesting at Waitangi? How do Maori and Republican struggles relate to the feminist movement? Why did the police and court react so heavily to her symbolic act? What do such acts of protest achieve and how can we support those who make them?"¹²² Guy interpreted Coney's actions within the bigger picture of New Zealand race relations, and the "political decision" that was part of Coney's case.¹²³ The 'punishment bond' was the topic of discussion in 'Batons Today, Bonds Tomorrow,' about the use of this "good behaviour bond" in relation to protestors' "occupation of an Air New Zealand aircraft during the Springbok Rugby Tour."¹²⁴ Coney wrote of her experience at Mt Eden women's prison in the same edition of *Broadsheet* in 'Inside out.' This was an opportunity to write about her prison experience, as "how often does a writer get a chance to see what I was seeing, and especially a writer with access to a magazine which would not censor what I wrote."¹²⁵ Coney wanted to share that

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 103-104.

¹²⁰ Camille Guy, "The Queen was not amused," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1982, 6-8.

¹²¹ Ibid., 6.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., 7.

¹²⁴ Sandra Coney, "Batons Today, Bonds Tomorrow," *Broadsheet*, October 1982, 8.

¹²⁵ Sandra Coney, "Inside out," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1982, 58. Coney also contributed an interview, "Inside Out: Women in Prison" and "Prison Notebook" in *Broadsheet*, November 1982, 38-40.

experience so other “political women” would learn of the conditions inside prison, where prison processes were “designed to humiliate you, to make you feel powerless, to violate your person, to erase your personality. This is the reality.”¹²⁶ Prison emphasised “traditional female stereotypes.”¹²⁷ The unjust treatment of protestors was an important focus of such articles.

Feeling Powerless

Second wave feminists often brought to the surface women’s concerns that were not commonly discussed in the public arena. Feminists considered the welfare of women a priority, and believed “women are victims not only of domestic assault but also of rape, incest, sexual harassment: all forms of sexual violence that the WLM has been active in trying to expose and prevent.”¹²⁸ How violence was perceived by wider society left little choice for feminists to take action.¹²⁹ Sandra Coney’s articles conveyed that women needed greater support, that the myths of rape needed to be eradicated, and that this was a confronting and less spoken about topic that needed greater public attention. A feminist perspective was crucial in regards to rape and violence because of what it said about the position of women at this time, and how the beliefs held in wider society impacted on women who were victims of rape and violence.

Early *Broadsheet* editions were themed, and in August 1974 the theme was ‘Women and Violence.’ Amongst a number of feminist contributions to this topic, Coney contributed the article ‘Rape: Demolishing the Myths’:

While we’ve been working on this issue on violence I have given quite a lot of thought to violence against women, and specifically to rape, which seems the ultimate embodiment of women’s oppression in our society. I have discussed the issue with a number of people and have become amazed at the sort of attitudes generally held in society about rape. A whole methodology has evolved around the subject and the fallacies which exist about this crime are trotted out as facts and the ultimate reasons for its existence.¹³⁰

Myths included if a woman did not resist in such a situation, they were said to have allowed it to occur, and that victims of rape provoked the situation:

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 61.

¹²⁸ Dann, *Up from Under*, 132.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 129-131.

¹³⁰ Sandra Coney, “Rape: Demolishing the Myths,” *Broadsheet*, August 1974, 19.

“Provocation” can take many different forms. It can be your lifestyle: you’re “promiscuous” or go with gang. It can be your clothing or behaviour: wearing provocative dresses, hitch-hiking getting drunk at parties, drinking in a tavern...or it can be very subtle, like not locking your car doors when driving at night, opening the door when you’re home by yourself, sunbathing in the garden or forgetting to lock one window...one thing we can do is rid ourselves and other women of the guilt surrounding rape. It is not “victim-provoked”. It is a violent act performed on women by men and no woman should feel guilty that she has been responsible for that violence.¹³¹

There was also concern with how women were treated when a case of rape was reported, and at this point in time, rape was “an aspect of discrimination against women hardly touched on yet by New Zealand feminist groups.”¹³² The issue with ‘provocation’ was central to the confronting discussions that feminists published in *Broadsheet* about Leigh Minnitt, a pro-abortion campaigner, who was killed by her husband Dr David Minnitt in May 1980.¹³³ The outcome of the Minnitt case, which resulted in a charge of manslaughter due to ‘provocation,’ was highly criticised by feminists. Coney noted in 1980, “feminists witnessing rape trials have observed the double rape of the victim – the rape by the man, and the second rape in court.”¹³⁴ Coney added context to this article in *Out of the Frying Pan* – “My ‘Comment’, written soon after the sentencing, looked at the basis of the protests and at the wider issues raised by the Minnitt case.”¹³⁵

Coney expressed “rage,” and described the feminist stance on violence and rape in a 1976 editorial.¹³⁶ An example was given of an Auckland woman who had been assaulted and the attitude of people about what had happened and how it had been made public via the media (media reports were often a concern¹³⁷):

Yet, feminists know, that we women provoke these assaults merely by existing. Feminists are fighting to make people see that rapists are not sick, perverted psychotics, but rather your “average bloke” – your next-door-neighbour, your husband, father, son’s friend, shop-keeper, customer...Men rape because they are contemptuous or, hate, women. No feminist statement arouses more defensive hostility that [sic] the belief that “every man is a potential rapist” – it strikes too close to home.¹³⁸

¹³¹ Ibid., 21-22.

¹³² Ibid., 22.

¹³³ Sandra Coney, “Comment: Mans laughter,” *Broadsheet*, October 1980, 4.

¹³⁴ Sandra Coney, “Comment: Mans laughter,” *Broadsheet*, October 1980, 5.

¹³⁵ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 97.

¹³⁶ Sandra Coney, “Editorial,” *Broadsheet*, December 1976, 10-11.

¹³⁷ For example: Sandra Coney, “The Crown V Sharon Kroot,” *Broadsheet*, June 1984, 14-15.

¹³⁸ Coney, “Editorial,” 10.

Coney also began a 1979 'Behind the news' article with the question, "the issue of battered wives is finally beginning to occupy media space but what's being said by the people who, the straight press chooses to focus on?"¹³⁹ Erin Pizzey from Britain, had visited New Zealand during that year, and her views demonstrated a contrast with feminist perspectives about women and violence. Coney wrote "a feminist analysis of "wife-battering" argues that this violence is one physical manifestation of the woman hating which underlies interaction between the sexes." A list of "factors" which influenced this included women as "other" and the reliance of women on men within a marriage. Pizzey had emphasised the importance of "the family unit" (the nuclear family ideal), which feminists viewed as detrimental for women.¹⁴⁰

Sandra Coney provided comments on the impact that feminism had had on how rape was perceived by 1979, where "the efforts of the women's liberation movement in exposing the reality of rape for women have meant that rape is treated more seriously, superficially at least."¹⁴¹ Progress had been made in regards to legislation that meant victims were treated better, for example, "we now have a law which makes the previous "sexual history" of the victim inadmissible as evidence in a rape trial and currently a Private Member's Bill has been introduced into Parliament proposing that the name of the victim must be suppressed, unless the court specifically permits publication." Even so, Coney believed "while this measure is a welcome move, I doubt it will have much effect on the reportage rates for rape." Attitudes of the police and the court towards victims were a concern, and Coney drew on statistics from a '1976 NOW Rape Research Report.' There were often issues with reporting the assault and the trial process resulted in a lack of justice for victims. Coney ended this article with the question, "what price is justice?"¹⁴²

In 1982, Sandra Coney wrote a letter of support for what Christine Dann had written in regards to a Wellington anti-rape "proclamation" which appeared to support myths about rape, such as that it only occurred on the streets at night and by strangers (much of what Coney had talked about in 1974).¹⁴³ After a lengthy discussion, Dann had

¹³⁹ Sandra Coney, "Behind the news: Pizzey's Politics Re-examined," *Broadsheet*, March 1979, 6.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Sandra Coney, "Comment," *Broadsheet*, November 1979, 5.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Sandra Coney, "Letter," *Broadsheet*, December 1982, 3.

concluded that “divided, deceived and discredited – what more could a male chauvinist hope for in a women’s movement? We must obviously work harder at spreading the truth about rape and rapists and counteract such efforts to undo our work.”¹⁴⁴ Coney further critiqued the “proclamation” in question:

so it’s heterosexual women who keep men raping, is it? By this perverse logic, rape will stop once all women become lesbian or celibate. Sisters, I thought any woman could get raped...this “proclamation” puts a new twist on blaming the victim. If we’re going to take actions like this, which have the merit of shock value, at least let’s have our politics straight before we go public.¹⁴⁵

‘Rape myths’ were also a point of discussion in a 1983 ‘Behind the news’ article by Coney about Auckland lawyer Honoria Gray, who “had once again used rape myths in defence of a rapist.” Feminists had been “incensed” when they discovered this, and had responded with protest.¹⁴⁶ Coney noted, “we agree men facing rape charges should be entitled to legal representation as any other defendant; but we oppose the use of misogynist rape myths as part of the defence.”¹⁴⁷ The only side that benefitted from such myths were those who had committed the assault. Legislation that had been established so that rape trials were fairer for victims was closely watched by feminists.¹⁴⁸

Women’s Health

Broadsheet magazine reflected the feminist perspective that the concern for women’s bodies and wellbeing lay at the heart of the second wave feminist movement.¹⁴⁹ Pat Rosier noted that “information and advice about contraception and childbirth is very specific to the time in which it is written.”¹⁵⁰ Feminist concerns with abortion and contraception were regularly discussed by Sandra Coney, whose articles suggested the importance of informed consent and knowledge about women’s health, the struggle against conservative attitudes and restrictive legislation, the safety of women was a priority and the importance of overseas progress. Coney also contributed articles about

¹⁴⁴ Christine Dann, “Letter,” *Broadsheet*, October 1982, 2-3.

¹⁴⁵ Coney, “Letter,” 3.

¹⁴⁶ Sandra Coney, “Gray Justice,” *Broadsheet*, March 1983, 6-7.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁴⁸ See: Sandra Coney, “Rape victim,” *Broadsheet*, July/August 1983, 8.

¹⁴⁹ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 60-61.

¹⁵⁰ Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 223.

childbirth, which depicted power struggles over the birth process, and the debate that ensued in regards to childbirth in maternity units and hospitals.¹⁵¹ Coney displayed a patient advocacy role within these women's health articles,¹⁵² which is an important focus of Chapter Three. Although Coney's role as editor of *Broadsheet* ended in 1985, women's health appeared to be an important link that was maintained with *Broadsheet*.

The Sandra Coney Papers provided an insight into attitudes towards women's health concerns in the early 1970s. The folder 'Newspaper Clippings, Newsletters and Flyers 1,' for example, included a document titled 'Submission to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Discrimination Against Women.' This reflected discrimination within healthcare, and how the "essence of the problem is attitudinal."¹⁵³ Abortion and contraception were a central focus within the folders titled 'Reproductive Rights, Abortion and Sexuality.' This collection also included contraceptive information such as informative Family Planning Association pamphlets and Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand (ALRANZ) resources.¹⁵⁴ A New Zealand march on abortion advertisement (May Abortion Action Committee) suggested "no-one should be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy."¹⁵⁵ Documents which demonstrated a contrast in views were related to the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC). A SPUC booklet emphasised how "the society takes a firm stand against the termination of a pregnancy for social or economic reasons, or because the child might be an inconvenience to parents."¹⁵⁶

In March 1974, Sandra Coney contributed to the 'Women's Health' themed issue of *Broadsheet*, with an editorial titled 'Are you screwing yourself up?' Coney revealed that

¹⁵¹ For example: Sandra Coney and Jill Calverley, "Radicalising Childbirth," *Broadsheet*, March 1974, 13-15; Sandra Coney, "From Here to Maternity," *Broadsheet*, October 1984, 4-6.

¹⁵² Articles which further emphasised Coney's role as a patient advocate included: "Invisible compensation for invisible people," *Broadsheet*, April 1976, 14-17; "Does work make you sick?," *Broadsheet*, June 1981, 10-13.

¹⁵³ Sandra Coney Papers, Pamela Williamson and Sharyn Cederman, *Submission to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Discrimination Against Women*, January 1974, 1., in Newspaper clippings, newsletters and flyers (1).

¹⁵⁴ Sandra Coney Papers, *The Family Planning Clinic*, pamphlet, in Reproductive rights – Abortion and sexuality (1), 1969-1972, Folder 6, Ref: 98-162-1/06; Sandra Coney Papers, *Abortion Law Reform leaflet*, Abortion Law Reform Association of New Zealand, in Reproductive rights – Abortion and sexuality (2), 1969-1974, Folder 7, Ref: 98-162-1/07.

¹⁵⁵ Sandra Coney Papers, May Abortion Action Committee, *Repeal all Anti- Abortion Law!*, leaflet, in Reproductive rights – Abortion and sexuality (1).

¹⁵⁶ Sandra Coney Papers, *Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (Auckland Branch)*, booklet, in Reproductive rights – Abortion and sexuality (2).

“feminists interested in the concept of women’s health have begun to discuss the high price we have paid for freedom from the tyranny of our fertility,” and “in an effort to be productively responsible we have come to be irresponsible towards our bodies.” The ‘pill’ had negative implications on women’s lives and a list of side-effects of methods of contraception was provided.¹⁵⁷ Coney also referred to the Lorraine Rothman Tour, where “just one short year ago feminists in New Zealand were largely unaware of the political implications of the kind of health care we are receiving in this country. The visit of Lorraine Rothman in September helped change all that.”¹⁵⁸ Rothman was a women’s health activist from the United States, and Christine Dann illuminated the context of her visit in *Up From Under*:

Menstrual extraction uses technologies developed for early abortion, but US women’s health activists were experimenting with it as a means for controlling the menses as well as providing simple abortions. However, for New Zealand women faced with repressive abortion laws, it had obvious appeal as an abortion technique, and some women began to learn more about it and experiment with it on themselves. Under New Zealand law at the time the technique was illegal.¹⁵⁹

The Sandra Coney Papers included two folders about this Tour.¹⁶⁰ Publicity of the event was kept low-key, although a watered-down advertisement was produced.¹⁶¹ Correspondence between Lorraine Rothman and Sharyn Cederman was included, which revealed details about financial support, the itinerary, potential legal issues in regards to menstrual extraction, an explanation of the “Self Help Clinic Concept”, and the appropriate level of pre-publicity of the event.¹⁶² A sense of feminist thought in relation to this event is gained through a reading of these folders.

The restrictive position that New Zealand women found themselves in was brought out in articles where Sandra Coney discussed ‘abortion’ and ‘contraception.’ The Pill and Intrauterine Device (IUD) were viewed as oppressive in the article ‘Just take a pill every day.’ Although contraception had been promoted as ‘liberating’ for women, this

¹⁵⁷ Sandra Coney, “Are you screwing yourself up?,” *Broadsheet*, March 1974, 5.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 57.

¹⁶⁰ Sandra Coney Papers, Organisation for Women’s Health – The Lorraine Rothman Tour (1), 1973-1974, Folder 4, Ref: 98-162-1/04; Organisation for Women’s Health – The Lorraine Rothman Tour (2), 1973-1974, Folder 5, Ref: 98-162-1/05, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁶¹ Sandra Coney Papers, Organisation for Women’s Health, *Lorraine Rothman Tour advertisement*, in Organisation for Women’s Health – The Lorraine Rothman Tour (1).

¹⁶² For example: Sandra Coney Papers, Letter from Sharyn Cederman to Lorraine Rothman, 1 August 1973; Letter from Lorraine Rothman to Sharyn Cederman, 4 August 1973, Organisation for Women’s Health – The Lorraine Rothman Tour (2).

responsibility at the same time, “had become women’s business.”¹⁶³ Coney regarded the attitudes of men at this time, “who don’t even bother to enquire whether a woman is using contraception, so strong is their assumption that it is none of their business.”¹⁶⁴ Coney also expressed how closely the issues of contraception and abortion impacted on each other – “we must stop pushing for abortion as a back-up to failed contraception and start arguing for it on the only platform that is suitable for feminists; as a basic right for women.”¹⁶⁵ The article ‘The Pill/The IUD’ depicted the unsafe nature of birth control, and how “our new abortion laws mean that many New Zealand women are turning to more effective means of birth control, but in doing so we run the risk of taking hormones and devices which are harmful, even dangerous to our bodies.”¹⁶⁶ Women were in a restricted position because “medical studies often only verify what women have already seen happening on their bodies. Yet when we complain to our doctors of side-effects we are treated as neurotic hypochondriacs and fobbed off with paternalistic platitudes,” and “without the backup of abortion most of us will be forced to continue with the surer methods of contraception even though it is not best for our health.”¹⁶⁷

Sandra Coney expressed the importance for knowledge of contraception in her articles (the knowledge that young adults had of contraception was also an issue that gained feminist attention).¹⁶⁸ In regards to the contraceptive Depo Provera, Coney wrote about the campaign that attempted to stop it being used. It was a cause for debate within feminist circles, as some argued “that women should have the choice to use any form of contraception, especially since in New Zealand we don’t have the back-up of freely available abortion.” However, women’s safety was paramount and women had been treated like “guinea pigs.”¹⁶⁹ Coney articulated *Broadsheet*’s commitment to inform women about contraception, and listed reasons why different forms of contraception could fail in ‘Why Contraceptives Fail.’ The lack of knowledge about potential contraceptive side-effects/complications was a crucial issue to address and “it is also

¹⁶³ Sandra Coney, “Just take a pill every day,” *Broadsheet*, June 1976, 22.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

¹⁶⁶ Sandra Coney, “The Pill/The IUD,” *Broadsheet*, March 1978, 6.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁶⁸ See Sandra Coney, “Legislating For Innocence,” *Broadsheet*, June 1979, 5.

¹⁶⁹ Sandra Coney, “Campaign Against Depo Formed,” *Broadsheet*, April 1980, 8.

true that an uninformed woman is more likely to have contraceptive failures than an informed one.”¹⁷⁰

Sandra Coney began the article ‘Abortion Drama’ in June 1975 with the statement, “from time to time *Broadsheet* has received letters from readers accusing us of having a hobby-horse because we have continued to publish articles and information about abortion. The events of the last month show why we are so concerned.”¹⁷¹ The events Coney referred to were ‘Dr Wall’s Hospital Amendment Bill’ (Dr Wall was an anti-abortionist, and this Bill proposed that hospitals were the only place where abortions could be carried out),¹⁷² and how different attitudes towards this Bill by MPs were depicted. This concerned the Auckland Medical Aid Centre (AMAC), the first abortion clinic opened in 1974.¹⁷³ Coney believed:

Yet support for the Bill by some MP’s was probably the result of a belief in massive anti-abortion feeling in New Zealand engendered by the highly organised activities of SPUC...women must be made to realise how little influence they presently have over decisions made by Government: decisions which could radically alter the entire course of their lives.¹⁷⁴

This was at the time of the third reading of the Bill.¹⁷⁵ Coney reported further on this Bill in July 1975, when it had passed, and the AMAC was set to close at this point, as there was a process that they would have to go through to register to stay open. This resulted in a repeal campaign, and Coney listed a number of ways women could help, such as putting pressure on MPs because “the passing of the Wall Bill must be made an election issue.”¹⁷⁶ Christine Dann noted that “the Hospitals Amendment Bill failed to close the clinic, which was merely forced to go to the trouble of becoming a registered private hospital by September 1975,”¹⁷⁷ and Coney revealed that the AMAC “found ways of operating within the law.”¹⁷⁸ ‘Right to Life Hysteria Outside Aotea Hospital,’ noted the protest that had occurred outside the AMAC (“new premises at Aotea

¹⁷⁰ Sandra Coney, “Why Contraceptives Fail,” *Broadsheet*, July/August 1981, 38.

¹⁷¹ Sandra Coney, “Abortion Drama,” *Broadsheet*, June 1975, 18-19.

¹⁷² Dann, *Up From Under*, 58.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Coney, “Abortion Drama,” 19.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁷⁶ Sandra Coney, “Consequences for Centre,” *Broadsheet*, July 1975, 6. Coney also conducted an interview which focused on the AMAC and women’s experiences, “Counselling makes all the difference,” *Broadsheet*, July 1975, 25-27, 36.

¹⁷⁷ Dann, *Up From Under*, 58.

¹⁷⁸ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 61.

Hospital”) as it reopened in September of that year. This was similar to overseas happenings and Coney wrote:

It’s difficult to comprehend how people ostensibly so concerned for “life” should be so inhumane and insensitive to the feelings of those who get in their way. To callously reduce a young woman, already under enormous stress, to tears is monstrously cruel. What value do we attach to one fully grown human woman beside one egg and one ovum? There was a mediaeval witch-hunt quality to their actions which was frightening. It is quite conceivable [sic] to me that these people would resort to arson or assault, so reckless is their disregard for human life – when it’s adult and female.¹⁷⁹

The AMAC gained further discussion space in May 1976, and Coney asked, “how far are anti-abortionists prepared to go in thrusting their views on the rest of the population?” Coney gave a short history of the strife that this centre had faced over two years, with arson attacks as the current issue of that time. Anti-abortionists were described as “only capable of seeing things in the starkest shades of black and white; a comfortable way of simplifying moral dilemmas.”¹⁸⁰

The overseas abortion situation was kept track of, which enabled New Zealand feminists to see on what scale New Zealand was positioned in terms of progress. An example of comparison was made between the New Zealand ‘Woolnough trial’ (feminists had supported this doctor who went on trial for performing illegal abortions)¹⁸¹ to the ‘The Bobigny Trial’ in France. This was described as “a trial from which we in New Zealand can learn much,” and “France has hardly been a world leader in social reforms. How then did they manage to get through a law which makes New Zealand’s look positively archaic.”¹⁸² Sandra Coney also stated the central concern, that “the right of a woman to do as she wishes with her own body.”¹⁸³

In December 1976, the article ‘The abortion protagonists’ included the headline, “Who calls the shots in the abortion battle today? Sandra Coney presents an “unbalanced” point of view.” Coney had spoken to ALRANZ (who Rosier noted in *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, had been “founded in response to the first newsletter of SPUC”),¹⁸⁴ but there was a lack of response from SPUC. The SPUC,

¹⁷⁹ Sandra Coney, “Right to Life Hysteria Outside Aotea Hospital,” *Broadsheet*, October 1975, 11-12.

¹⁸⁰ Sandra Coney, “Arson at Abortion Clinic,” *Broadsheet*, May 1976, 12-13.

¹⁸¹ Dann, *Up From Under*, 58.

¹⁸² Sandra Coney, “The Bobigny Trial,” *Broadsheet*, December 1975, 25.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸⁴ Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 18.

however, had still been written about in this article such as the strong Catholic influence and the Gill Bill (another Bill proposed to restrict abortion).¹⁸⁵ Coney depicted the state of the abortion situation at that time:

The abortion debate is hot and strong in New Zealand. While other countries of European origin liberalise their laws, New Zealand clings to its old repressive one and pro-abortion activists, rather than being able to concentrate their energies on liberalising the law, fight instead to hold even the status quo.¹⁸⁶

Coney also highlighted the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion in the article ‘Backstreet Abortionists Given Royal Charter.’¹⁸⁷ The Royal Commission had been initiated at a time when abortion debates were high publically, and submissions were gathered.¹⁸⁸ Coney shared the reality of backstreet abortions, and also reflected on the abortion situation of 1966 – this article was a “timely and tragic reminder” of that time. Coney questioned ‘The Report of the Royal Commission’ which had suggested illegal abortion was “not prevalent.” Figures had the ability to change due to the Sisters Overseas Service (SOS) and the AMAC, and “if legislation along the lines of the Report is enacted we will see a return not to the bad days of 1970 but to the bad, bad days of 1966.”¹⁸⁹ Coney included this particular article in *Out of the Frying Pan*, with the added context of what the abortion clinic had been through over the years. Coney had been a counsellor at the AMAC and described it as a “dramatic job.”¹⁹⁰

The 1977 Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Act (CSA) received a great amount of feminist attention. In ‘The Royal Commission Like King Canute,’ the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion was further discussed, which appeared to emphasise ‘traditional’ family structures. Coney noted:

New Zealand is meant to be a *secular* state. Muldoon has been heard to say on the sport and South Africa issue that the church should keep out of politics. Yet, unless we are very lucky, we women are going to be ruled by an outdated, misogynist church morality which the great bulk of people in New Zealand have rejected long ago.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Sandra Coney, “The abortion protagonists,” *Broadsheet*, December 1976, 24- 27.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Sandra Coney, “Backstreet Abortionists Given Royal Charter,” *Broadsheet*, June 1977, 8-10.

¹⁸⁸ Dann, *Up From Under*, 59.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁹⁰ Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 76.

¹⁹¹ Sandra Coney, “The Royal Commission Like King Canute,” *Broadsheet*, July 1977, 12-14.

Feminists interpreted the ““right-to-life”” argument as “anti-woman.”¹⁹² In regards to the 1977 Royal Commission Report, “two days before the report was due out, women’s liberationists received leaked information that the commission had advocated restricting access to abortion still further. In Auckland, Sandra Coney and Julie Thompson hastily produced a poster warning women of what was in store.”¹⁹³ Coney provided further analysis of the New Zealand Abortion Law in 1978, where the article title ‘How the Abortion Law Isn’t Working,’ conveyed the stance taken.¹⁹⁴ The CSA Act had raised a number of concerns which included: who made decisions for women, how women were treated, the questionable safety of women who had abortions in hospitals, and the lack of knowledge that women had. The conclusion that followed Coney’s overview, noted “well that’s the story of how the abortion law isn’t working. It’s gory, but it’s true. Did they tell us “New Zealand the way you want it?” They did, but they lied. For the CSA Act has given New Zealand women abortion the way SPUC, the Catholic church and the white male ruling class wants it.”¹⁹⁵

The New Zealand abortion issue also had an Australian connection, through the SOS. The establishment of the SOS was a consequence of the passing of the CSA Act,¹⁹⁶ which had “made abortions more difficult to obtain.”¹⁹⁷ High numbers of women flew to Australia at this time.¹⁹⁸ The development of the service that the SOS provided was discussed in the article ‘The Tasman Traffic.’¹⁹⁹ It was in the next edition of *Broadsheet* that the arson attack on the Australian SOS centre was reported on by Coney.²⁰⁰ Arson attacks on abortion centres appeared to be an ‘international’ concern at the time, where “arson has long been used as a political tactic; even our suffragette sisters in Britain burned down buildings to show their anger and impatience after reformist tactics appeared to be getting them nowhere.” This had caused further determination for their work, as “only strong political convictions enable people attacked in this way to carry

¹⁹² Ibid., 12.

¹⁹³ Dann, *Up from Under*, 59-60.

¹⁹⁴ Sandra Coney, “How the Abortion Law Isn’t Working,” *Broadsheet*, November 1978, 8-10, 19.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 19. Further reference made to restrictive abortion legislation in Sandra Coney’s articles, “Compulsory Pregnancy,” *Broadsheet*, July/August 1981, 7; “Moraliser’s Morals,” *Broadsheet*, December 1983, 8.

¹⁹⁶ Dann, *Up From Under*, 61.

¹⁹⁷ Rosier, *Broadsheet: Twenty Years of Broadsheet Magazine*, 18.

¹⁹⁸ This was possibly a reason why the Sandra Coney Papers included an Australian Women’s Movement folder – Sandra Coney Papers, Papers relating to the Australian women’s movement, 1971-1975, Folder 10, Ref: 98-162-1/10, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁹⁹ Sandra Coney, “The Tasman Traffic,” *Broadsheet*, April 1978, 10-11.

²⁰⁰ Sandra Coney, “Arson at SOS,” *Broadsheet*, May 1978, 6-7, 9.

on.”²⁰¹ Another further obstacle for women came in June 1981, where “hidden victims of Australia’s decision to require New Zealanders visiting Australia to carry passports are women crossing the Tasman to obtain abortions they are unable to find in New Zealand.” At this time it was still challenging for women to get an abortion in New Zealand because the long wait for approval pushed women over the trimester time limit allowed (12 weeks).²⁰² Disappointment about the abortion campaign was expressed by Coney in ‘Why the women’s movement ran out of steam’ within the context of catalysts of the movement’s demise, where “by the late seventies the abortion campaign was winding down, not because of victory, but because of defeat...all the protest activity had only resulted in one of the most repressive pieces of abortion legislation in the western world.”²⁰³

Sandra Coney’s health-related articles in *Broadsheet* from 1985 highlighted her connection to Fertility Action and further emphasised patient advocacy. A central women’s health concern for Fertility Action was the Dalkon Shield:

Problems associated with the Dalkon Shield IUD were also raised by feminist health researcher Sandra Coney in 1977 at the Women and Health Conference. As usual, the establishment was dilatory, and as usual, feminists had to activate their own channels to get the necessary advice and assistance to women (for instance Fertility Action, which was set up in 1984 to support women who had been damaged by the Dalkon Shield and help them get access to compensation funds available in the USA).²⁰⁴

Coney provided coverage of this issue, and updated women in ‘Dalkon Shield News,’ where “on 12 March, the New Zealand Health Department struck a deal with A.H. Robins, manufacturers of the IUD, the Dalkon Shield, accepting Robins’ offer to run an advertisement campaign warning New Zealand women of the health hazards of continuing to use the device.” Women had been harmed by this device, and women’s groups had not been conferred with prior to this deal.²⁰⁵ ‘Departmental dynamite’ was published at the time when the New Zealand Health Department was to embark on the “unprecedented advertising campaign.”²⁰⁶ Coney and Bunkle depicted this IUD’s history, and how the awareness raised through *Broadsheet* had prompted women to

²⁰¹ Ibid., 10. Another international comparison in regards to arson attacks was made with the United States in Coney’s article, “Abortion Clinics Burn,” *Broadsheet*, March 1985, 9-10.

²⁰² Sandra Coney, “Hop,” *Broadsheet*, June 1981, 8.

²⁰³ Coney, “Why the women’s movement ran out of steam,” 61.

²⁰⁴ Dann, *Up From Under*, 64.

²⁰⁵ Sandra Coney, “Dalkon Shield News,” *Broadsheet*, April 1985, 9.

²⁰⁶ Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle, “Departmental dynamite,” *Broadsheet*, July/August 1985, 32-36.

come forward and sue the American company at fault.²⁰⁷ The New Zealand Health Department also came under scrutiny in regards to the advertising campaign that was proposed, as “there was no information for the women already damaged in either ad or letter” (some women required surgery for the removal of the IUD).²⁰⁸ Concern for the wellbeing of women was portrayed by Coney and Bunkle who stated, “by ultimately ignoring the women’s experience with this device, the Health Department has not only avoided taking responsibility for women injured during the years of its inaction, but set the stage for yet more injury to women.” The Health Department had “discredited the feminist voice,” and “the feminist analysis has been vindicated by the facts, but this was hidden by denigrating stereotypes and wild fantasies.”²⁰⁹

A further update in December 1985, reiterated the importance of women making a claim before the deadline.²¹⁰ This issue was wider than New Zealand, with women in Third World countries also at great risk. Fertility Action put pressure on Dr Bassett, the Minister of Health, to “make public statements informing New Zealand women of the urgency in making a claim.” Sandra Coney described the Health Department’s actions towards this as “woeful,” and “it allowed the IUD to be sold in New Zealand for nine months after it was taken off the US market and has done nothing for women damaged by the shield.”²¹¹ Although the claim date was extended, there was concern about the advertisements that would be aired and how some doctors were “discouraging women from making complaints.”²¹² Another extensive article was written by Coney in March 1986 titled ‘A Pain in the Womb’ which included the history of IUDs and the overseas/New Zealand situation. This had been a concern of feminists “for a long time. But no-one takes any notice of feminists unless they’re tying men to trees. Now the law courts and “empirical science” have “proved” what women knew all along. IUDs are a pain in the womb.”²¹³ Making claims via the Accident Compensation Corporation was also met with resistance.²¹⁴ Jenny Rankine continued the Dalkon Shield discussion in 1987, where Coney’s Fertility Action work as a consumer representative was conveyed.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 32.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 36.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Sandra Coney, “Dalkon Shield Deadline,” *Broadsheet*, December 1985, 6-7.

²¹¹ Ibid., 7.

²¹² Sandra Coney, “Dalkon Shield Update,” *Broadsheet*, January/February 1986, 9.

²¹³ Sandra Coney, “A Pain in the Womb,” *Broadsheet*, March 1986, 14.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 18.

The Health Department committee had released a report that Coney was critical of – the experiences of women had not been addressed.²¹⁵ There were many areas of concern for women that Coney addressed within *Broadsheet*. The categorisation of these articles is not absolute, but the subject areas do highlight the variety of feminist concerns that Coney's articles addressed. The importance of patient advocacy and the experiences of women will be observed more closely in the following chapter.

²¹⁵ Sandra Coney, "IUDs –Doctors Move an Inch," *Broadsheet*, January/February 1987, 5-7.

Chapter Three: Challenging the Dominant – Women’s Health

Introduction

During the secondary literature research stage of this thesis, I was struck by a quote in Susan Mitchell’s *Icons, Saints and Divas*. It was during Mitchell’s interview with Erica Jong, where Jong said:

You must be assertive and, in a way, I think it is very fortunate to be a woman in this sexist society. Just as it’s fortunate in a way to be a Jew in an anti-Semitic world or a black in a racist world, because you’re condemned to be the outsider and the outsider has a better vision of society than the insider.¹

This seemed an appropriate point to consider when thinking of the kind of lens in which to view Sandra Coney’s work. Coney was part of a feminist movement that confronted society from an oppressed position. It is this aspect which makes a second wave feminist understanding of New Zealand so valuable – it is a perspective that placed emphasis on women’s experiences. Coney is publicly well-known for her contribution to women’s health and “was made a Companion of the Queens Service Order for her services to women’s health, in particular her role in bringing about the Cervical Cancer Inquiry which transformed patients’ rights for all New Zealanders.”²

Patricia Sargison wrote of the second wave feminist movement and women’s health in the 1970s:

The women’s liberation movement which flourished at this time saw feminist women focusing on health in a different way. Health was regarded as “the cutting edge of sexual politics, the place where women were often at their most powerless”. Feminists believed the patriarchal medical system was not meeting their needs. They sought ways to inform themselves and women about medical issues, thus empowering women to assert their rights to choice and consent in decisions about their health.”³

Women’s self-help manuals had a history in connection with the New Zealand women’s health movement, where “in 1982 the first New Zealand women’s self-help health

¹ Susan Mitchell, *Icons, Saints and Divas: Intimate Conversations with Women Who Changed the World* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1997), 33.

² Sandra Coney, “Sandra’s background in health,” <http://piha.co.nz/bestwest/2010/09/new-post/> (Accessed 7 January 2015).

³ Patricia A. Sargison, *Notable Women in New Zealand Health = Te Hauora Ki Aotearoa: Ōna Wāhine Rongonui* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1993), vii.

manual was published, to be followed by books in menopause and pre-menstrual experience.”⁴ Sandra Coney published informative women’s health books in the 1990s. *Hysterectomy* (1990), *The Menopause Industry: A Guide to Medicine’s ‘discovery’ of the Mid-life Woman* (1991) and *Feeling Fabulous at 40, 50 and Beyond: A Handbook for Mid-life Women* (1996), were important sources for informing women about relevant women’s health issues at the time they were created.⁵ From a modern day perspective these specific publications also allow for an understanding of the position of this generation of women within New Zealand society.

Over the years, feminists dealt with challenges such as public backlash and authority over their own representation. Both challenges were relevant to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, which was described as “the key event of the 1980s...which validated the complaints of women about their treatment within the health system and recommended sweeping reforms in patients’ rights.”⁶ Scholarship associated with The Cervical Cancer Inquiry occurred at different times from a feminist perspective. Coverage was documented within the feminist space of *Broadsheet* by Pat Rosier, and given further feminist attention amidst the aftermath of the event. Along with the original *Metro* article, Sandra Coney contributed to a number of publications that reflected on the Cervical Cancer Inquiry at certain stages, which included: *The Unfortunate Experiment* (1988), *Out of the Frying Pan* (1990), *Unfinished business: What Happened to the Cartwright Report?: Writings on the Aftermath of “the Unfortunate Experiment” at National Women’s Hospital* (1993), and *The Cartwright papers: Essays on the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, 1987-88* (2009).⁷ The Inquiry is still a contentious topic, given the

⁴ Dann, *Up From Under*, 87.

⁵ Sandra Coney and Lyn Potter, *Hysterectomy* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1990); Sandra Coney, *The Menopause Industry: A Guide to Medicine’s ‘discovery’ of the Mid-life Woman* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1991); Sandra Coney, *Feeling Fabulous at 40, 50 and Beyond: A Handbook for Mid-life Women* (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1996).

⁶ Sandra Coney, “Introduction: Sickness and Health,” in *Standing in the Sunshine*, 89.

⁷ Sandra Coney, *The Unfortunate Experiment* (Auckland: Penguin, 1988); Sandra Coney, “The first post-Cartwright year: a case study in institutional resistance,” in *Out of the Frying Pan*, 213-245; Sandra Coney, “The recall row,” in *Out of the Frying Pan*, 201-212; Sandra Coney, introduction to *Unfinished Business: What Happened to the Cartwright Report?: Writings on the Aftermath of “the Unfortunate Experiment” at National Women’s Hospital*, ed. Sandra Coney (Auckland: Women’s Health Action, 1993), 9; Sandra Coney, “Unfinished business: The Cartwright Report five years on,” in *Unfinished Business*, 19-49; Sandra Coney, “Against all odds: The experience of a consumer representative in the establishment of the National Cervical Screening Programme,” in *Unfinished Business*, 165-178; Sandra Coney, “Exposing the experiment,” in *The Cartwright papers: Essays on the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, 1987-88*, ed. Joanna Manning, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009), 59-70; Sandra Coney, “The Unfortunate History,” in *The Cartwright papers*, 139-148.

debate that has existed in recent times.⁸ Coney's patient advocacy role shines through within her published scholarship. This chapter begins with a discussion of feminism in the late 1980s and 1990s, which allows for an insight into how feminism was interpreted in New Zealand society at this time.

Feminism in the late 1980s/ 1990s

Sandra Coney's scholarship produced in the 1990s, provided an in-depth understanding of the position of women, and an interpretation of the feminist movement years after it arose. Although 'suburban neurosis' was not discussed at this time, there was evidence that it still functioned – "home life has been glamourised and distorted," and "behind the happy homemaker, the sexy suburbanite, is quite a different reality."⁹ Coney's introduction in *Out of the Frying Pan* suggested the current situation at that time:

As we enter the 1990s there is not much left of a feminist movement in New Zealand. True, there are many women who would identify themselves as feminist and who work for women, and there are many groups who organise around specific issues, such as women's studies, health or male violence. They keep the feminist flag flying; but the organised, effective, umbrella political organisation some of us hoped would develop, never came to pass. This has allowed feminism to go off the rails to some extent.¹⁰

While achievements had been gained as a result of feminist efforts, the disregard for feminism at this time, in what had been labelled as a "postfeminist era," was a concern.¹¹

Sandra Coney's *Into the Fire* (1997) provided further emphasis of 1990s feminist concerns within the context of the implications of the New Right on New Zealand society. Coney explained how this publication, "provides another way of looking at the changes of the last 13 years. It disputes the contention that these were inevitable or necessary, and documents the damage they have caused."¹² The 1990s were compared to the "activist era of the 1970s" and "relative economic prosperity," where there had

⁸ Debate within feminist and historians circles in regards to Linda Bryder's analysis, discussions and reviews within medical journals, radio interviews, and on-line sources that provide access to Cervical Cancer Inquiry resources such as <http://www.womenshealthcouncil.org.nz/Features/Cartwright+Inquiry.html>.

⁹ Coney, "Why the women's movement ran out of steam," 52-53.

¹⁰ Coney, introduction to *Out of the Frying Pan*, 8.

¹¹ Coney, "The Last Post for Feminism," 275-276. This article was also included in *Out of the Frying Pan*.

¹² Coney, introduction to *Into the Fire*, 10.

been the right conditions for second wave feminism to grow – “these conditions do not apply in 1997.”¹³ New Right beliefs created distance between government and society, and a “draconian tyrant” image of the government was pushed.¹⁴ What concerned Coney was the lack of acknowledgment of “the obstacles of gender, race, class...”¹⁵ There was an impact on women who were often “picking up the slack as the state winds down,” in regards to ‘women’s roles’ in the home, looking after sick family members for example.¹⁶ Feminist values such as “co-operation, egalitarianism, collectivism, creative expression and social justice” differed from those that were promoted by the New Right ideology, such as “economic determinism, individualism, self-interest, competition...”¹⁷ Concepts such as ‘choice,’ were promoted, yet such an ideal could not be successfully applied to areas like the health sector where it was not always possible to control one’s health.¹⁸ Health reforms, believed Coney, “were the culmination of a persistent, subtle, ideologically driven long-term strategy to gradually construct the component parts of a health market while at the same time cultivating a culture around health policy that irresistibly favoured change.”¹⁹ Such views mirrored general feminist thought about the New Right, as demonstrated within *Broadsheet* in the 1990s.²⁰

Furthermore, the demise of *Broadsheet* had raised multiple questions about feminism at this time – “was the demise of the magazine a sign that all was well with my sex? Had the feminist revolution occurred and removed the need for advocacy on behalf of women? In the ‘battle of the sexes’ had women emerged, if not on top, at least side by side?”²¹ Coney discussed the decline in collective women’s action, which was detrimental because “if women are not organised, there is no foundation from which to respond to new threats to women’s freedoms as they occur.”²² Coney’s experienced feminist voice advised:

¹³ Coney, *Into the Fire*, 77-78.

¹⁴ Ibid., 25-26.

¹⁵ Ibid., 81.

¹⁶ Ibid., 84-85.

¹⁷ Ibid., 78.

¹⁸ Ibid., 142.

¹⁹ Ibid., 145.

²⁰ For example: Pat Rosier, “Ruthless and Ship-Wrecked – The Budget,” *Broadsheet*, September 1991, 4; Phillida Bunkle, “‘She’ll not be right any more...’,” *Broadsheet*, Summer/Raumati 1991/1992, 32.

²¹ Coney, *Into the fire*, 73.

²² Ibid., 80.

If there is a way ahead for women, it will probably not rest with women within the power elites. Reactivating women as a mass movement for change could provide a strategy, but the networks of women that existed up until the early 1980s have been fatally weakened over the past 15 years.²³

A more realistic strategy may be to link with other movements for social change...one thing that the union, environmental, anti-poverty, church and other change agent groups have in common is opposition to the New Right. By harnessing that resistance, a halt might be brought to the New Right juggernaut that has rolled over women in the last decade.²⁴

Broadsheet's final edition published in 1997 contained Coney's piece titled 'A farewell to *Broadsheet* and all who have sailed on her,' in which she stated, "I can understand why *Broadsheet* has gone under at this particular time. It is just that feminism is need [sic] more than ever in 1997. The pernicious idea that the market provides women with opportunities creates a context in which there can be a lot of slippage."²⁵ Coney recognised the importance of the need to "stay tuned to what is happening with women in different areas and support each other's efforts."²⁶ It was evident that the adaptation of feminist work provided a challenge, yet it was imperative for future progress. The 1990s was a stage where second wave feminists asked important questions about the position of women. It had always been the hallmark of feminists to ask important questions of society, but these were questions relevant for these times.

Women's Health 'Advice' Scholarship

Sandra Coney's women's health advice scholarship was a snap shot of New Zealand women's health concerns at the time they were created. The common theme that was addressed in *Hysterectomy*, *The Menopause Industry* and *Feeling Fabulous*, was the need for women to have greater authority over their own health. In *Hysterectomy*, Coney and Lyn Potter wrote, "it seems extraordinary that women have known so little about an operation that so many have had. With the publication of this book, we hope this will come to an end."²⁷ *Hysterectomy* presented a detailed explanation of a hysterectomy and included the personal accounts of women – Coney and Potter published a "Hysterectomy Questionnaire" in the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* in

²³ Ibid., 95-96.

²⁴ Ibid., 96.

²⁵ Sandra Coney, "A farewell to *Broadsheet* and all who have sailed on her," *Broadsheet*, Winter/Hotoke 1997, 61.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Sandra Coney and Lyn Potter, *Hysterectomy*, 4.

1987, which allowed them to have “an amazing glimpse into the lives and feelings of New Zealand women.”²⁸ *The Menopause Industry* provided a detailed explanation of menopause, and the preface expressed, “if the world was kinder to women this book need never have been written.”²⁹ Coney had expected more questions to be raised as a result of reading this book.³⁰ It included research papers from medical journals, advice from medical experts and the written accounts of women’s experiences, which for Coney “both confirmed that I was on the right track and gave me new insights into the shape this book should take.”³¹ *Feeling Fabulous* also consisted of explanations of women’s health concerns and advice sections, which demonstrated how “the subjects covered were chosen because they are real issues being faced by women at this time.”³² Personal stories of women who were described as “movers and shakers” were also included. These women were part of Coney’s generation who were described as “warriors, pioneers, ground-breakers and survivors from way back.”³³ Coney’s health advice books conveyed an objective to inform women and a recognised importance of the realities that were experienced by women.

Sandra Coney questioned the meanings applied to aspects of women’s health, where it was important to question their construction. The introduction to *Feeling Fabulous* explained that ‘mid-life’ had been interpreted within this text as a “transition stage, which offers the opportunity to make changes and branch out into new directions.”³⁴ This act of “redefining” mid-life was significant given the importance of the construction of ‘meanings’ that second wave feminists highlighted during the movement. This conflicted with the promoted meanings of ‘middle-aged’ in wider society, which was questioned by Coney in *The Menopause Industry* – “the relationship between mid-life women and the health system is distorted by negative stereotypes of aging women which are exploited by vested interests for their own ends.”³⁵ Coney argued, “women need to reject an ideology which leads to a preoccupation with ill-

²⁸ Ibid., 1, 160-161.

²⁹ Sandra Coney, preface to *The Menopause Industry*, 9.

³⁰ Coney, *The Menopause Industry*, 19.

³¹ Coney, preface to *The Menopause Industry*, 9-10.

³² Sandra Coney, introduction to *Feeling Fabulous at 40, 50 and Beyond*, 5.

³³ Coney, *Feeling Fabulous*, 8-9. Coney also suggested in a newspaper article that, “it is also recommended reading for younger women, so they can look toward the process of maturing with confidence, and see it as a release instead of a prison sentence.” Anna Dunbar, ‘Taking control in the middle years of life,’ *Press*, December 24, 1996, 11.

³⁴ Coney, introduction to *Feeling Fabulous*, 5.

³⁵ Coney, preface to *The Menopause Industry*, 9.

health and which inculcates a sense of precarious mortality. Instead of ‘living gingerly’, mid-life women should insist on their right to live life with verve, gusto and spice.”³⁶ The abundant amount of menopause information which existed needed to be questioned – it had been “unremittingly negative”³⁷

Various connections were made in these publications to the second wave feminist movement. In regards to New Zealand’s high hysterectomy rate, Coney and Potter mentioned how “when feminists began working on women’s health issues in the 1970s, they were critical of the increasing hysterectomy rate. They argued that some doctors operated for profit rather than as a result of real health indicators.”³⁸ As was common with feminist discussions of health, the safety of women was a concern. For example, Uterine cancer treatment was discussed in *Hysterectomy*, where “women need to be given a full description of the treatments offered and their short-term and long-term effects when deciding what treatment to undergo.”³⁹ Hormone Replacement Therapy was discussed in *The Menopause Industry*, and how its promotion as “rescuing women from an unthinkable fate as deformed old crones” caused an absence of questions about safety.⁴⁰ Coney and Potter argued in *Hysterectomy*, that ‘protecting’ the patient from such information was perceived as an “old-fashioned attitude” that was “no longer acceptable,”⁴¹ and “we still have some distance to go before all doctors see women as individuals. No two women are the same and we will all have our own attitudes to our wombs.”⁴² Gender inequality existed, where “everything negative that might be happening to women around this time of their lives has been labelled menopausal,” whereas for men it was “part of normal aging.”⁴³ *Feeling Fabulous* also highlighted how “one of the maxims of the feminist movement was that ‘knowledge is power’...”, but “despite the feminist movement, we have not succeeded in liberating menopause from the social constructions around it.”⁴⁴ At this particular point in time, Coney argued “this is the next stage of the women’s revolution: the battle for balance in our lives, the

³⁶ Coney, *The Menopause Industry*, 278.

³⁷ Coney, *Feeling Fabulous*, 25-26.

³⁸ Coney and Potter, *Hysterectomy*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

⁴⁰ Coney, *The Menopause Industry*, 171.

⁴¹ Coney and Potter, *Hysterectomy*, 69.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴³ Coney, *The Menopause Industry*, 81-83.

⁴⁴ Coney, *Feeling Fabulous*, 12.

campaign for the right to be uniquely ourselves in all our fascinating complexity.”⁴⁵ *Broadsheet* promoted Coney’s health publications within a New Zealand feminist framework through advertisements, letters about forthcoming works, and book reviews.⁴⁶ For example, in January/February 1991, Coney wrote a letter that asked for contributions towards a women’s health manual (possibly *Feeling Fabulous*). This letter conveyed how:

The book is a decision-making manual for women, examining the medical interventions, screening techniques and treatments offered to well-women in their 40’s and 50’s as part of preventative health care. It will go into the scientific evidence, the pros and the cons so women can make well-informed decisions.⁴⁷

Coney also stated “health manuals are always more useful for women if they are “humanised” by including what women actually think.”⁴⁸

The Cervical Cancer Inquiry

Discussions about feminism in the late 1980s and 1990s, and the nature of the concerns raised about women’s health in Sandra Coney’s scholarship are relevant to the following discussion about the Cervical Cancer Inquiry scholarship. This event has been interpreted as a significant moment in New Zealand history that brought change to the New Zealand health system. For example, Philippa Mein Smith suggested “the medical profession’s power and influence was challenged following a cervical cancer inquiry in 1988 chaired by Dame Silvia Cartwright...The Cartwright inquiry endorsed patients’ rights and intensified public questioning of medical authority.”⁴⁹ Joyce Herd wrote, “undoubtedly in this period the most explosive impact on women’s health debates was the report of the Cartwright Inquiry into the treatment of cervical cancer patients in Auckland.”⁵⁰ Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle’s contribution to the Inquiry was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁴⁶ Claire-Louise McCurdy reviewed *Feeling Fabulous* (*Broadsheet*, Quarterly Summer/ Raumati 1996, 61), Pat Kipping reviewed *Hysterectomy* (*Broadsheet*, June/July 1990, 36), and Aorewa McLeod reviewed *The Menopause Industry* (*Broadsheet*, Summer/ Raumati 1991/1992, 53).

⁴⁷ Sandra Coney, “Letter,” *Broadsheet*, January/February 1991, 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Mein Smith, “Treaty Revival 1974-2003,” 238.

⁵⁰ Joyce Herd, *Cracks in a Glass Ceiling: New Zealand Women 1975-2004* (Dunedin: NZ Federation of Graduate Women (Otago Branch), 2005), 57.

highlighted in *Notable Women in New Zealand Health*.⁵¹ As members of Fertility Action, “both women honed their political skills and gained organising experience in major women’s health campaigns during the early 1980s” (Depo Provera/Dalkon Shield).⁵² Patricia Sargison provided an explanation of the Inquiry, and noted the heightened media attention at this time. In conclusion Sargison stated:

Those who hold power are naturally reluctant to relinquish it. Yet, undoubtedly, medical research in New Zealand will never be the same again; and the “unfortunate experiment” article remains “one of the most influential pieces of investigative journalism ever published in this country”.⁵³

The significance of this event is conveyed within these accounts, and the work that Coney and Bunkle achieved was regarded as significant.

Broadsheet's relationship to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry

Broadsheet's relationship to the Cervical Cancer Inquiry was significant because it provided a feminist outlet for discussion. Joyce Herd recognised the significance of *Broadsheet* in relation to the Inquiry, where “this magazine’s extensive inquiry into the cervical cancer debacle at National Women’s Hospital led to several books, and significant changes regarding patients’ rights within the health system.”⁵⁴ In August 1987, *Broadsheet* featured an article titled ‘Experimenting on Women.’ Jenny Rankine had spoken to Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle who referred to the *Metro* article and the up-coming trial:

Judge Cartwright will also decide whether women with CIS who were referred to National Women’s should be contacted for further advice or treatment. Coney and Bunkle believe up to 40 women could still have untreated invasive cervical cancer. The inquiry will assess the hospital’s training about cervical cancer, and whether patients at the hospital are informed about their medical treatment and operations.⁵⁵

Emphasis was placed on the importance of the Inquiry being discussed in a public space. Pat Rosier wrote extensive coverage in *Broadsheet* (this is mentioned to some

⁵¹ Patricia A. Sargison, “An ‘Unfortunate Experiment’: Sandra Coney (1944-), Phillida Bunkle (1944-) and the Cervical Cancer Inquiry at National Women’s Hospital,” in *Notable Women in New Zealand Health*, 79-83.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 83.

⁵⁴ Herd, *Cracks in a Glass Ceiling*, 67.

⁵⁵ Jenny Rankine, Phillida Bunkle and Sandra Coney, “Experimenting on Women,” *Broadsheet*, August 1987, 9.

extent by secondary sources, but is worth an in-depth observation).⁵⁶ While this coverage was not written from the perspective of Coney, there is much that can be learnt about the nature of feminist thought that surrounded the event. Rosier's coverage conveyed the issues that were at the heart of feminists, and were reflective of Coney's women's health work.

The first piece of coverage, 'Screening the Doctors' (October 1987) stated "the inquiry has been under way for several weeks now" and "Sandra Coney gives her evidence – she's first "on" – confidently, carefully. With hundreds of footnotes she can track down any reference in minutes."⁵⁷ As the media's representation (for example, Television New Zealand (TVNZ)) of the Inquiry had not been so open about some details, Rosier gave space for that in her account. Distrust was felt by feminists:

Like what's happening at National Women's now? Are women still being treated inadequately and denied information about their condition? (Sandra Coney's concept of informed consent includes: knowing what condition you are suffering from; knowing the prognosis for that condition if it's not treated; knowing the options for treatment, their likelihood of success, and any adverse effects.).⁵⁸

Rosier was exasperated by the slow progress at this point, "while women suffer disease, anxiety, uncertainty. What does it take to make anything urgent?"⁵⁹ Coverage continued with 'The Speculum Bites Back' (November 1987), at a time when the Inquiry was "taking a two week adjournment."⁶⁰ The revelation that women were subjected to unconsented examinations at the hospital had "created something of an uproar in the media." The concerns of women were positioned as centrally important – "okay boys, you have to have faith in your colleagues, but who's going to look after the women's interests?"⁶¹ Rosier also discussed the structures in the hospital, referred to a cervical cancer symposium, and noted how New Zealand doctors were considered behind the times and the importance of overseas opinions. Another concern was, "the National Women's doctors keep demonstrating an attitude that it's better for women not to know."⁶² Rosier had had contact with a nurse midwife who discussed how this had

⁵⁶ For example: Linda Bryder, *A History of the 'Unfortunate Experiment' at National Women's Hospital* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009), 143.

⁵⁷ Pat Rosier, "Screening the Doctors," *Broadsheet*, October 1987, 6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Pat Rosier, "The Speculum Bites Back," *Broadsheet*, November 1987, 5.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 6.

influenced some change where she worked, in terms of communication with patients and “conversation in the staffroom,” to which Rosier noted “there is no doubt that the inquiry is having an impact.”⁶³

In ‘It Wasn’t My Fault’ (December 1987), attempts to avoid responsibility within National Women’s Hospital (NWH) were evident.⁶⁴ The emphasis on ‘clinical freedom’ was depicted by Rosier, as “a continual theme of the inquiry, replayed by each doctor supporting what has happened,” and various arguments put forward by the medical profession were noted in some detail.⁶⁵ At this time of the Inquiry, there had been “more evidence about informing and getting consent” and further discussions of women and knowledge. Rosier argued, “I find these assumptions, that women have to be protected from knowledge about *their* conditions and treatment and that they won’t understand, all the more frightening because the doctors don’t see anything wrong with them.”⁶⁶ Two questions were raised about the complaints procedure that had failed to be observed by the medical professionals – “how do you know you’ve been abused if you were anaesthetised, unless someone who was there and conscious happens to tell you, and most of those present would have something to lose if you complained?” and “how easy it to make such a complaint?”⁶⁷ Rosier also focused on the “sides” of the inquiry, where “women as patients, are represented by Fertility Action (Sandra Coney goes everyday) and their two lawyers and a lawyer representing the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, who cannot be present all the time because the Ministry can pay only a limited amount.”⁶⁸ The importance of New Zealand having a screening programme was also emphasised.⁶⁹

‘Listen To The Women’ (January/February 1988) documented how “the last few days of the hearing was dominated by – at last – the voices and opinions of women.”⁷⁰ ‘Complaint procedures’ and the issue of ‘consent’ were given space. In regards to women’s voices, Rosier noted “if the medical establishment would only read their

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Pat Rosier, “It Wasn’t My Fault,” *Broadsheet*, December 1987, 5.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁰ Pat Rosier, “Listen To The Women,” *Broadsheet*, January/February 1988, 5.

submissions and take them to heart we might begin to see the changes in medical services that so many women have been asking for for so many years,” although Rosier remained doubtful.⁷¹ The Health Alternatives for Women (THAW) and Fertility Action, were examples of women’s groups that had produced submissions. THAW’s submission had conveyed similarities between NWH and Christchurch Women’s Hospital in regards to informed “consent and treatment,” and it was believed that “solutions must be national, not localised.”⁷² The submission by the Ministry of Women’s Affairs included a “separate statement” by Te Ohu Whakatupu, which was important because “Maori women are proportionately over-represented among women who die of cervical cancer.” This submission was described as “a reasoned and a passionate document, deserving of extremely wide dissemination. If only those with medical power would *take notice*.”⁷³ Rosier believed, “it was very appropriate for the Fertility Action submission to be the final one. And equally appropriate that it be presented by Sandra Coney, who had fought constantly to keep the perspective of women patients before the commission,” while this submission “showed that patient’s rights have systematically been ignored.”⁷⁴ Rosier concluded this article by emphasising the importance of these submissions which had demonstrated “some vision of the public health system to serve women we *could* have if the women’s voices were heard.”⁷⁵ ‘Cervical Cancer Inquiry – Over to the Judge’ (March 1988) further conveyed “the final evidence and submissions.”⁷⁶ ‘Informed consent’ was central to this discussion, and “given the demonstrated inadequacies that were revealed in both areas during the inquiry, legislation is a very necessary springboard for change, and is probably the only way of ensuring that the change is national, over all hospitals.”⁷⁷ Again the long-term aim of a cervical screening programme was discussed – “the Ministry has all the information and ideas necessary for a programme to begin implementation immediately.

⁷¹ Ibid., 6.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 7-8.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid. Linda Bryder wrote that “these submissions – from draconian suggestions like disciplining wrong-thinking individuals to more generalised proposals to ‘humanise’ medical training – were part of a broader agenda to change society and specifically gender relations within medicine,” in *A History of the ‘Unfortunate Experiment’ at National Women’s Hospital*, 140.

⁷⁶ Pat Rosier, “Cervical Cancer Inquiry – Over to the Judge,” *Broadsheet*, March 1988, 10-11.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 10.

We live in hope.” And in conclusion Rosier stated, “the rules, checks and balances have to be removed from the control of the doctors alone.”⁷⁸

Following the conclusion of the Cervical Cancer Inquiry, feminist support was expressed within *Broadsheet* magazine. Pip Priestly stated in a letter, that it had “been good to read Pat’s accounts to round out the (generally unattractive) picture... hopefully this awareness will not make some women suspicious and afraid to seek treatment, but all of us more empowered and assertive in asking for and expecting the best. Love and thanks to Sandra and Phillida and to all the women who told their stories.”⁷⁹ It was not until September 1988 that Pat Rosier’s ‘A Feminist Victory’ article was published.⁸⁰ Rosier referred closely to the finding within the Cartwright Report:

Ethics and patients [sic] rights take up a long (50-page) chapter of the report. Many of the issues that arose during the inquiry – peer review, informed consent, research protocols, the ineffectiveness of the poor performance of the NWH ethical committee (which she recommends disbanding in favour of an Auckland regional committee), patients’ rights, including the right to dignity, consent to inclusion in trials, the teaching of ethics – are dealt with.⁸¹

Rosier also noted how the Cartwright Report “establishes the right of women patients to expect to be treated as fully human and the responsibility of the medical profession to treat us as such,”⁸² and “our thanks are due to Sandra and Phillida and all those who worked behind the scenes and supported them, to the women who came forward and spoke to the Inquiry, and to Judge Cartwright, who listened.”⁸³ *Broadsheet* continued to provide a space for feminist interpretation of the Cartwright Report, within the context of the ‘aftermath.’ In summary, the topics of discussion included: the importance of consumers and patients’ rights,⁸⁴ the recall of women,⁸⁵ representations of feminist work,⁸⁶ and progress of the Cartwright Report’s recommendations.⁸⁷

⁷⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁹ Pip Priestly, “Letter,” *Broadsheet*, April 1988, 3.

⁸⁰ Pat Rosier, “A Feminist Victory,” *Broadsheet*, September 1988, 6-8.

⁸¹ Ibid., 7.

⁸² Ibid., 7.

⁸³ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁴ For example: Lisa Sabbage, “A Spur To Action,” *Broadsheet*, October 1988, 8.

⁸⁵ For example: Pat Rosier, “Following the follow-up,” *Broadsheet*, April 1989, 7.

⁸⁶ Pat Rosier, “Auckland Women’s Health Council – Witch Hunt,” *Broadsheet*, November/December 1990, 6.

⁸⁷ For example: Pat Rosier, “National Cervical Screening Programme,” *Broadsheet*, March 1991, 7; Ruth Henderson, “August 5 - The Cartwright Report Three Years On,” *Broadsheet*, September 1991, 13.

Backlash

Backlash was a regular challenge that feminists encountered throughout the second wave feminist movement. The *Broadsheet* column ‘Herspective’ often gave an insight into a feminist interpretation of this backlash. For example, Pat Rosier (November 1987) summarised the issue of ‘feminist perspectives’:

Whatever feminists say about feminism, regardless of how open, proud even, they are of their beliefs, journalists and interviewers from the mainstream media work very hard to put it down, to make it seem as if there is something strange, weird, offbeat about being feminist. It’s never taken as a serious commitment.⁸⁸

Ruth Henderson (September 1990) argued:

I think the basic problem is that feminism has always had an image problem. Through no fault of our own, of course, it’s just that we have to deal with sexist newspapers and other media. Being a feminist isn’t terribly glamorous, I mean who wants to belong to a group of women who are portrayed as fat, ugly, unhappy, humourless, irrational, emotional, biased and can’t get themselves a man or worse, don’t want one?⁸⁹

Whether misconceptions of feminism generated and promoted such backlash is an important question, as it seemed to be a common topic addressed by feminists in their reflections.

Furthermore, Pat Rosier commented on feminist backlash in regards to the Inquiry. The article ‘Sneer Journalism,’ discussed how “*North and South* and *Metro* magazines have each published further attacks on well-known New Zealand feminists and their work.”⁹⁰ Along with Hilary Lapsley and Margot Roth, Sandra Coney had been targeted by Jan Corbett’s article “Second Thoughts on The Unfortunate Experiment” which had discredited the Cartwright Report. Rosier questioned the representation of feminists as having ‘power’ – “how come we never experience it like that, but rather as constantly struggling to get a perspective that is *for* women heard, let alone acted on?” Rosier believed “Sandra’s greatest “crime” in the eyes of these publishers is that she has refused to be intimidated and simply won’t shut up. She will not be silenced because her advocacy arises directly from the women who tell their stories. Sandra does not create

⁸⁸ Pat Rosier, “Herspective,” *Broadsheet*, November 1987, 2.

⁸⁹ Ruth Henderson, “Herspective,” *Broadsheet*, September 1990, 2.

⁹⁰ Pat Rosier, “Sneer Journalism,” *Broadsheet*, August 1990, 6.

distrust of the medical profession among women, she expresses it.”⁹¹ Rosier provided a thought-provoking conclusion about feminist perspectives, where “a difference between feminist writers and almost all others is that feminists are overt about having a point of view. Everyone writes from a point of view, it’s just not common in mainstream media for that to be acknowledged.”⁹² Furthermore, Rosier’s article ‘Metro Article Rebutted,’ discussed Jan Corbett’s July article. Critics of the report tended to emphasise the 1984 McIndoe paper and the original *Metro* article by Sandra Coney and Phillida Bunkle which contained some inaccurate details, even though the Cartwright Report’s findings were not entirely based on these documents (this was often highlighted within Cervical Cancer Inquiry scholarship). Rosier stated:

Helen Clark, the release states, strongly rebutted criticism made about the Cartwright Report in the July issue of *Metro* Magazine and continued in the editorial of the September issue. Following an attempted action struck out in the High Court in August, the Minister said that the criticisms now made in *Metro*’s July article and September editorial (and ongoing) were simply a repetition of allegations contained in unsuccessful court action.⁹³

Coney and Bunkle were said to have had influenced the outcome, whereas “Ms Coney’s evidence represented only a fraction of the information heard and examined during the enquiry.”⁹⁴ Jan Corbett’s representation of the Auckland Women’s Health Council (AWHC) also came under fire in the *Broadsheet* article “latest Metro attack on feminists.” Rosier challenged this misconception:

Feminist health activists are working (often voluntarily – they have to earn a living as well) to bring the medical profession unwillingly into the twentieth century...the discussions about health services and how to provide those that work for women has been polarised into a series of “pro” versus “anti” stand-offs.⁹⁵

Broadsheet magazine itself was an important channel for the expression of feminist frustration and support.

In recent times, feminists have contested Linda Bryder’s interpretation of the Inquiry in *A History of the ‘Unfortunate Experiment’ at National Women’s Hospital* (2009). Bryder argued that Fertility Action had “sought a greater goal of bringing to heel a

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 7.

⁹³ Pat Rosier, “Metro Article Rebutted,” *Broadsheet*, December 1990, 7-8.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁹⁵ Pat Rosier, “Auckland Women’s Health Council – Witch Hunt?,” *Broadsheet*, November 1990, 6-7.

patriarchal medical institution, the National Women's Hospital and its Postgraduate School of Obstetrics and Gynaecology,"⁹⁶ and that:

The women's health movement saw in the Inquiry an opportunity to change power relationships within the health system and to challenge male medical dominance, one of its long-standing goals...many of the changes that emerged post-Cartwright were part of a long-term trend and not a dramatic break from with the past, generally related to the wider social climate and in keeping with social movements occurring in the Western world generally.⁹⁷

The lack of inclusion of women's voices and experiences within Bryder's account was one of the issues that concerned feminists. The *Women's Studies Journal* published papers by Anne Else and Phillida Bunkle in 2010, which portrayed this concern. Else addressed flaws in Bryder's historic account and drew on works such as *The Cartwright Papers* (2009).⁹⁸ Bunkle, who articulated the "patient-centred perspective" and the significance of feminism in relation to the Inquiry, noted "Sandra and I built our case upon a patient-centred vision of medical ethics which arose directly from our experience in developing the Women's Health Movement in New Zealand."⁹⁹ Bunkle also questioned Bryder's use of sources:

There is a hole in the heart of Bryder's analysis, resulting from her neglect of the patients' perspectives. The proposition that lay at the heart of the Cartwright recommendations was that patient's reality formed the standard by which medical conduct should be judged. Neglecting to accept or at least acknowledge this key proposition meant that Bryder ignored or misinterpreted most of the available evidence and failed to appreciate the significance of the Cartwright Inquiry and its associated reforms.¹⁰⁰

This holistic concept of 'treatment' is what distinguishes the Cartwright legacy and makes the Report truly innovative. I argue that this was derived from feminism not as a result of personal influences but as a cogent development from a human rights perspective, as our submissions show...the validation of women's perspective was a central tenet of our feminism and as the Women's Health Movement grew a patient-centred perspective naturally developed from it.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Linda Bryder, *A History of the 'Unfortunate Experiment' at National Women's Hospital*, 6.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 189-190.

⁹⁸ Anne Else, "The 'unfortunate experiment' and the Cartwright Inquiry, twenty years on: why getting it right matters," *Women's Studies Journal* 24, no. 2 (2010): 3-4, <http://www.wsanz.org.nz/journal/docs/WSJNZ242Else2-7.pdf>.

⁹⁹ Phillida Bunkle, "Patient-centred ethics, the Cartwright Inquiry and feminism: Identifying the central fallacy in Linda Bryder, *A History of the 'Unfortunate Experiment at National Women's Hospital*," *Women's Studies Journal* 24, no. 2 (2010): 9, <http://www.wsanz.org.nz/journal/docs/WSJNZ242Bunkle8-24.pdf>.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Phyllida Bunkle had earlier emphasised in *Broadsheet* the significance of the Inquiry in regards to the Women's Health Movement, where "The Cartwright Enquiry put women's health on the agenda. It mattered, it had to be addressed. Women's health achieved a centrality that it did not in other countries," although "the shift in consciousness was not matched by a shift in power."¹⁰²

The interpretation of the connection between feminism and the Inquiry is intriguing. Although this appeared to create a degree of backlash, feminist experience was constructively used to have women's experiences acknowledged within the medical profession. Clare Matheson's experience as a patient at NWH, as documented in *Fate Cries Enough*, demonstrated the reality of women's experiences.¹⁰³ Matheson wrote, "it seemed I had been the subject of an experiment, without my knowledge or consent. My concern that other women might find themselves in a similar situation to my own, appeared to be well founded. How many women were there?"¹⁰⁴ Matheson's experience provided Coney and Bunkle with a valuable "case history" to use in conjunction with their research.¹⁰⁵ The importance of feminist intervention was highlighted by Matheson's words, "it almost seemed that fate had cried 'Enough!' and had sorted out and brought together four women who cared deeply enough about others to take some action."¹⁰⁶ Throughout this piece, aspects such as social justice, equality, patient experience, choice and women's stories, were highlighted (central aspects of Sandra Coney's scholarship). *Broadsheet* published an interview with Matheson in 1990, where the importance of "sisterhood" and the vulnerable position that women were in was emphasised. Matheson felt it was imperative that her story be told so that the lives of others could be improved.¹⁰⁷

Sandra Coney's Cervical Cancer Inquiry Scholarship

Sandra Coney has provided an in-depth understanding of the Inquiry from her perspective. *Speaking Truth to Power: Public Intellectuals Rethink New Zealand*

¹⁰² Phyllida Bunkle, "Women and the Health Reforms," *Broadsheet*, Summer/Raumati 1994, 37.

¹⁰³ Clare Matheson, *Fate Cries Enough: a survivor of the cervical cancer experiment at National Women's Hospital* (Auckland: Sceptre NZ, 1989).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 121.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁰⁷ Pat Rosier and Clare Matheson, "'Ruth' tells her story," *Broadsheet*, January/February 1990, 5-6.

consisted of an interview where Coney suggested the Inquiry had “legitimated people’s experiences,” made people question, and changed “doctor-patient relationships.”¹⁰⁸ The following paragraphs highlight the key concerns raised, and the progress made with the Cartwright Report at different stages, which Sandra Coney’s Inquiry scholarship conveyed. These concerns were reflective of the discussions provided by feminists within *Broadsheet*.

The connection between second wave feminist ideals and the Inquiry was emphasised throughout Sandra Coney’s scholarship, where the experiences of women remained significant. *Broadsheet* published the article ‘Beaming in on cervical cancer’ in January/February 1987, which discussed a 1985 meeting about cervical cancer screening, and a 1986 symposium. Coney argued “New Zealand’s backwardness has frightening and tragic implications for the country’s women.”¹⁰⁹ It had been discussed at this symposium that “any woman who has ever had sexual intercourse is at risk of cervical cancer and should be regularly screened. But because of the somewhat offhand attitude of some doctors to the disease, women will need to educate themselves about proper diagnosis and treatment, and insist that their management conforms to accepted standards.” Coney concluded, “women will have to insist that New Zealand catch up with the rest of the world.”¹¹⁰ The introduction to *The Unfortunate Experiment* (published the same year as, but before the release of, the 1988 Cartwright Report),¹¹¹ highlighted the importance of a feminist perspective because of the centrality of women’s concerns, and emphasised the significance of the “feminist effort” in regards to the Inquiry:

Feminists get credited with the inconsequential and the odd, but not with the significant efforts they have made in areas such as domestic violence, employment and health. Having worked as both a writer on women’s history and the editor of a feminist magazine, I know how women’s endeavours can sink without a trace if they are not recorded.¹¹²

Both Coney and Bunkle “shared an understanding about power relationships in our society and where women fitted in,”¹¹³ and their knowledge of women’s health

¹⁰⁸ Sandra Coney and Heather Worth, “Sandra Coney,” in *Speaking Truth to Power: Public Intellectuals Rethink New Zealand*, ed. Laurence Simmons (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007), 261-262.

¹⁰⁹ Sandra Coney, “Beaming in on cervical cancer,” *Broadsheet*, January/February 1987, 12.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 14.

¹¹¹ Sandra Coney, *The Unfortunate Experiment*, 254.

¹¹² Coney, introduction to *The Unfortunate Experiment*, 9.

¹¹³ Coney, *The Unfortunate Experiment*, 16-17.

(apparent in *Broadsheet* articles and Fertility Action) evidently contributed to their Inquiry work. Coney's research had paid close attention to patients' files, which would have resulted in greater knowledge of how this had impacted on the lives of the women.¹¹⁴

The Unfortunate Experiment depicted the nature of the New Zealand medical profession in the late 1980s from a patient advocacy perspective, and different aspects of the Inquiry process. Issues raised during the Inquiry, that related to the treatment of patients, were conveyed as a "problem of medical power" and not exclusive to this Inquiry. Coney and Bunkle "were primarily interested in how it had been allowed to happen, and what needed to be done to ensure that it would not happen again,"¹¹⁵ and "our aims were to reveal the truth, and to set the events in the context of problems we perceived about the medical profession."¹¹⁶ In New Zealand at this time, there was "no patients' rights legislation, nor legal obligation on the part of the doctors or researchers to get fully informed consent."¹¹⁷ There were issues with the way health information was distributed by doctors who had demonstrated an attitude that patients could not cope with certain information (also highlighted in *The Menopause Industry* and *Hysterectomy*).¹¹⁸ Patient ethics¹¹⁹ in terms of 'clinical freedom',¹²⁰ and the structure of NWH were also questioned, as "the hierarchies and boundaries of power were maintained. No one stepped out of line. But where did this leave the patients?"¹²¹ Coney and Bunkle had clear objectives in regards to the changes they believed needed to be made. Coney wrote, "our hope had always been that she [Judge Cartwright] would make far-reaching suggestions for change which would ensure we never had to deal again with matters such as those before the inquiry," and:

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 97.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 148, 273.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 219.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 143.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 143-144.

¹¹⁹ 'Patient ethics' were central to the following documents: Sandra Coney and Anne Else, *Protecting Our Future: The Case for Greater Regulation of Assisted Reproductive Technology: A Discussion Document*, ed. Sandra Coney and Anne Else (Auckland: Women's Health Action Trust, 1999); Sandra Coney, *The future direction of primary health care including budget-holding and managed care: a consumer perspective: a report for the Federation of Women's Health Councils of New Zealand/Aotearoa* (Auckland: The Federation, 1994); Sandra Coney, *Accident Compensation: A Women's Issue: A Report*, prepared for the Federation of Women's Health Councils Aotearoa-New Zealand by Sandra Coney (Auckland: The Federation, 1992).

¹²⁰ Coney, *The Unfortunate Experiment*, 234.

¹²¹ Ibid., 241.

We were calling for sweeping changes in the health scene: legislation to improve patients' rights and control over research; patients' advocates in institutions; independent avenues of redress; consumer representatives to be involved in decision making about health; a 'fresh start' with new personnel at New Women's Hospital; and a nationwide cervical cancer screening programme. We could only hope that the judge would agree with us.¹²²

Questioning dominant ideals, consistent with feminist thought, was highly relevant at this time.

Furthermore, *Broadsheet* published 'Take The Power From The Docs' in July/August 1989, which stated "Sandra Coney talks about health care, power and what being a consumer representative really means."¹²³ This was a reflective article that highlighted the basis of Coney's position. What had been a 'bombshell' at the time publicly, had not been so shocking to "feminists in the women's movement who had been discussing, analysing, writing about, and attempting to change normal medical practice for years."¹²⁴ Coney noted:

What was new about the inquiry process was the level of public scrutiny of these practices, an exposure feminists had not been able to achieve previously. What was also new was the opportunity to confront the people, their culture and their medical practises in an open, impartial, non-medical forum – in the public eye.¹²⁵

Coney reflected on what had happened since the Inquiry, and what it meant to be a consumer representative, as defined by the women's health movement.¹²⁶ Coney concluded this article with a discussion of how there was still a long way to go before real changes were made in relation to 'power,' as "the post-Cartwright experience had been one of entrenchment of medical power. The system wants to be seen to be responsive without actually changing...the medical élite and the institutions are "responding", they are *not* giving up power."¹²⁷

Sandra Coney included two articles within a section titled 'The Cartwright Inquiry; the aftermath' in *Out of the Frying Pan*. At this particular moment, "at the end of the first year, there were some signs that the resistance was dissipating."¹²⁸ 'The recall row'

¹²² Ibid., 254, 266.

¹²³ Sandra Coney, "Take The Power From The Docs," *Broadsheet*, July/August 1989, 24.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 24.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 25.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 26.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 27.

¹²⁸ Coney, introduction to *Out of the Frying Pan*, 9.

depicted the process of the recall of patients, where it was crucial for treatment to be given, but this had to be done correctly. A monitoring committee had been established, who assessed the attempted recall and responsibility of the recall was eventually taken away from NWH.¹²⁹ Coney was critical of NWH staff who appeared “incapable of working out for themselves how to conduct an ethical recall. The need for fully informed patient consent was the fundamental lesson that should have been learned from the inquiry. That it had been omitted from the hospital’s recall process defied belief.”¹³⁰ Women had been subjected to a recall process that was inefficient. Coney gained the position of “advisor to the monitoring committee” and outlined a different approach towards the recall, where the women would remain a priority.¹³¹ Additional issues included the resistance of NWH to provide Coney with access to patient files, and “the women were mentioned less and less at the meetings. There was an awful lot of discussion of doctors’ reputations and doctors’ needs, but the patients were becoming invisible.”¹³² For Coney, “the key features of the cervical cancer inquiry were the powerlessness of the patients, the unchallenged power of senior doctors, and the excessive self-protectiveness of the board. I was seeing it all again. So what had been learned?”¹³³ The monitoring committee eventually ended, although numerous women had “asked to see a counsellor and have been through their medical records,” and had chosen to “have an independent colposcopic check. The patient recall, touch wood, has been a success.”¹³⁴

In addition, ‘The first post-Cartwright year: a case study in institutional resistance,’ drew attention to various statements made at the time of the Cartwright Report’s release, about the recommendations.¹³⁵ Criticism towards the recommendations existed:

Judge Cartwright had gone too far. If anything deserving condemnation had occurred, it had been in the past and confined to one institution. Judge Cartwright had found that the events she examined demonstrated fundamental flaws in the conduct and ethics of the

¹²⁹ Coney, “The recall row,” in *Out of the Frying Pan*, 202-203. Originally published in the *NZ Listener*, 20 May 1989.

¹³⁰ Coney, “The recall row,” 205-206.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 206, 211.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 212.

¹³⁵ Coney, “The first post-Cartwright year: a case study in institutional resistance,” in *Out of the Frying Pan*, 213.

whole profession. Consequently there were implications for doctors everywhere. This conclusion provoked widespread denial and defensiveness.¹³⁶

There was opposition from NWH,¹³⁷ and Coney believed that “the source of the hospital’s negative image was located in the consumers’ negative attitudes, rather than the patients’ reports of real experiences. It was therefore unnecessary to change. The problem became one of improving the image, rather than the reality.”¹³⁸ Feminist input had been cast in a negative light, as a “desire to attack men”¹³⁹ and even Judge Cartwright’s role as a ‘woman judge’ received criticism.¹⁴⁰ Four aspects demonstrated a “lack of real commitment by the medical institutions” to follow out the recommendations: “the failure to discipline doctors, the academic response, the reluctance to involve consumer groups in decision-making, and the reaction to informed consent.”¹⁴¹ The matter of research and ‘informed consent,’ had generated opposition, where before the Cartwright Report the New Zealand situation was described as “often very shoddy. Yet to improve this standard was frequently presented as arduous and obstructive.”¹⁴² Coney believed that “the real basis of the objectifications about gaining informed consent was about giving up power.”¹⁴³ Positive results were also mentioned – women’s health had gained greater publicity,¹⁴⁴ and it had benefited women’s health groups because “the Cartwright Report gave them an official document carrying considerable weight which they could use to legitimate their demands and perspective.”¹⁴⁵ The importance of consumer groups was voiced in the conclusion of this article, as “only a strong challenge from consumer health groups has managed to keep the Cartwright Report on course.”¹⁴⁶

Assessments of progress of the Cartwright Report’s recommendations demonstrated the long-term commitment to this cause.¹⁴⁷ Sandra Coney’s introduction in *Unfinished*

¹³⁶ Ibid., 216.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 219.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 218-219.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 221.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 221-222.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 223.

¹⁴² Ibid., 233.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 238.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 239.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 240.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 242.

¹⁴⁷ Sargison suggested that Bunkle and Coney’s “goal remained the implementation of Cartwright’s recommendations,” in *Notable Women in New Zealand Health*, 82.

Business (1993) gave the impression that the recommendations had not been fulfilled to a level that was acceptable:

The Cartwright Inquiry was a unique event, and the recommendations from it highlighted patients' rights and ethical issues with a clarity which has occurred in few countries. Had the recommendations all been implemented, New Zealand would have led the world in the protection of patients' rights.¹⁴⁸

Coney was the editor of this book, which incorporated writing from a number of women who had a “continuing commitment to supporting the implementation of the recommendations of the report.”¹⁴⁹ Coney contributed a chapter titled ‘Unfinished business: The Cartwright Report five years on,’ which depicted the progress of the major recommendations of the Report.¹⁵⁰ Coney discussed the negative interpretation of feminists in the media and how this influenced how they were perceived in relation to the Inquiry.¹⁵¹ The momentum for the fulfilment of recommendations had slowed at this point in time.¹⁵² Changes made to the New Zealand health system impacted on the way the recommendations were carried out, “the National Government of 1990 came into office with an ideology of transforming health and social services into markets,”¹⁵³ and:

there was also a problem of political partisanship. The Health Commissioner Bill and the Cartwright Inquiry were seen as Labour initiatives, and the National Government sought to distance itself from them. It could not be seen to be passing a ‘Helen Clark bill’; it was therefore necessary to put a National ‘stamp’ on the legislation by altering it significantly. This was done along the lines which the medical professional groups had strenuously lobbied for.¹⁵⁴

Interestingly, Coney concluded that it was changing attitudes that had been a “major positive change,” due to the Cartwright Inquiry, and “the Cartwright Report validated women’s experience of the medical system by an objective analysis of facts.”¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, Coney’s noted the challenges that the screening programme faced, such as the “health ‘reforms’,” in an additional chapter within this publication.¹⁵⁶ Coney’s

¹⁴⁸ Sandra Coney, introduction to *Unfinished Business*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵⁰ Sandra Coney, “Unfinished business: The Cartwright Report five years on,” in *Unfinished Business*, 19-49.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 42, 44.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁵⁶ Sandra Coney, “Against all odds: The experience of a consumer representative in the establishment of the National Cervical Screening Programme,” in *Unfinished Business*, 177-178.

patient advocate stance provided an important analysis of the Cartwright Report's progress.

'Exposing the experiment,' a contribution made to *The Cartwright Papers* (2009) by Sandra Coney argued the significance of this case, how it was related to a "human rights framework for health" and how the Inquiry was interpreted at different times.¹⁵⁷ Feminism was regarded as "central to what we did."¹⁵⁸ At the time of social movements in wider New Zealand society, like the second wave feminist movement, "it was possible to raise a challenge to the main women's teaching hospital in the country and the powerful people who controlled it, and for that challenge to be understood." Therefore, the political and social environments impacted on the aftermath of the Inquiry.¹⁵⁹ Changes within the health system had been influential.¹⁶⁰ This was relative to Coney's discussions of New Zealand health care in 1991 in *Into the Fire*. A 'status report' (Health Boards Study group), had brought to light strengths and weaknesses of the health system. Coney noted an extra criticism – "the need to improve patients' rights and ethical standards within the health system. The process of achieving these had begun with the Cartwright inquiry 1987-1988. While huge progress had been made, National's lack of interest in such issues and the emphasis on health-sector restructuring had side-lined ethical issues."¹⁶¹

The wider New Zealand environment also related to Sandra Coney's critique of Linda Bryder's publication. As Coney argued, "her narrative was directed at an audience that no longer understood or supported feminist aspirations – one which had not experienced the historical conditions that women encountered in the health services in the period under examination by the Inquiry."¹⁶² The importance of a feminist understanding was expressed, as "feminism offers a strong intellectual and analytical framework, but it is grounded in the real-life experiences of women."¹⁶³ Bryder's interpretation of Bunkle and Coney's motivations was contested by Coney who stated "we argued that the women patients should have been offered treatment that would eliminate their disease

¹⁵⁷ Sandra Coney, "Exposing the experiment," in *The Cartwright Papers*, 59-70.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁶¹ Coney, *Into the Fire*, 146-147.

¹⁶² Coney, "Exposing the experiment," 62.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 63.

and that they should have been given information to make their own decisions.”¹⁶⁴ This critique went further in Coney’s second article in *The Cartwright Papers*, titled ‘The Unfortunate History,’ where “despite Cartwright’s conclusion, and the weight of evidence supporting it, Bryder contends that Green was simply treating his patients and then studying the results.” Coney disputed what had been deemed ‘treatment.’¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, *Metro* magazine published an article in October of the same year, titled ‘An Unfortunate History.’ The introduction read:

Twenty-two years ago, an exposé in this magazine damned a controversial cancer experiment at National Women’s Hospital. Now a new history argues *Metro* and the subsequent official inquiry got it wrong. Sandra Coney, one of the authors of the original article, finds serious flaws in the latest revisionist arguments.¹⁶⁶

Bryder’s work evidently provoked a response from feminists. The debate that surrounded the Inquiry only emphasised further the approach Coney had taken and what had always been her central concern, as it had for many feminists within the movement – that the women who had been wrongly treated, gained an outcome that would bring them justice. The Inquiry was an important moment in New Zealand history, and it gauged the reaction to feminism amidst the events that unfolded, and in later years with the focus on the aftermath of the Inquiry.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹⁶⁵ Sandra Coney, “The Unfortunate History,” in *The Cartwright Papers*, 143.

¹⁶⁶ Sandra Coney, “An Unfortunate History,” *Metro*, October 2009, 52.

Chapter Four: Recovering ‘Herstory’

Introduction

Sandra Coney’s scholarship is reflective of the objective that second wave feminists had of recovering ‘herstory,’ as conveyed in the historiography section of this thesis. The focus on women’s history by feminists within *Broadsheet* suggested its importance from early years within the movement, and as Barbara Brookes noted, “in women’s liberation groups internationally, history became a source of inspiration (heroic foremothers) and despair (the power of patriarchy).”¹ Katie Pickles’ words, “making journeys of recovery is at the heart of women’s history. If women are to have a place in history, we need to remember, recover and record,” are highly relevant.² The contribution that Coney made towards this second wave feminist objective has centrality within this chapter, whilst also engaging with the second wave feminist attitude towards women’s history at this time.

A significant moment in New Zealand history that has an important connection to Sandra Coney’s scholarship was the 1993 New Zealand Women’s Suffrage Centenary Year. Philippa Mein Smith noted that at this particular time, “history recovered women’s ‘herstory’...New Zealand women’s history was presented as ‘standing in the sunshine.’”³ A feminist interpretation of the 1993 New Zealand Women’s Suffrage Centenary Year is an important aspect of this discussion. While the centenary marked a moment in New Zealand history where women won the right to vote after a long campaign, it appeared to also allow an important space for comment on the current position of women. *Standing in the Sunshine*, a women’s history project Coney is well-known for, will be discussed within this context. Furthermore, Coney contributed to a number of collaborative feminist projects that enabled New Zealand women’s history to have centre stage. Coney’s Piha scholarship will also be a relevant point of discussion at the end of this chapter.

¹ Brookes, “A Germaine Moment,” 209.

² Katie Pickles, introduction to *Hall of Fame: Life Stories of New Zealand Women*, compiled by Olive Baylyn, ed. Katie Pickles (Christchurch: Clerestory Press, 1998), xi.

³ Mein Smith, “Treaty Revival 1974-2003,” 240.

Remembrance and Record Keeping

Sandra Coney's speeches delivered at recent New Zealand Women's Suffrage and International Women's Day anniversary days conveyed that the involvement in the second wave feminist movement enabled second wave feminists to use their experience to comment on the current situation. Coney spoke at a '120th Anniversary of Suffrage' event at Khartoum Place (the site of the Suffrage Memorial in Auckland) on the 19th of September 2013. Coney reflected on the past, but made important connections with the position of women in 2013:

So we have made many gains in 120 years, but we still have a long way to go. Looking back at the feminist agenda of the 19th century, they were concerned about the freedom of women from male violence, equal pay and equal opportunity – still issues that are as vital for women in 2013 as women in 1893.⁴

Furthermore, at a 2013 International Women's Day celebration, at the same significant location, Coney discussed aspects of the second wave feminist movement.⁵ This speech expressed how feminist concerns from the past were still relevant, and this came from an experienced voice.⁶ Coney described the steps taken to gain child care services within the universities, as she herself had experienced discrimination in the way that women were meant to make a 'choice' between university education or children.⁷ Coney revealed that "back when we started *Broadsheet* feminist magazine, in 1972, there were all sorts of prohibitions on working women that are now gone." The Human Rights Act 1977, "an outcome of the Select Committee on Women's Rights," had been influential:

We now have some degree of paid maternity leave, indeed there is workplace and social pressure on women to get back to work after having a child, which to my mind is rather disempowering and we have lost a degree of choice about what women do. In fact, women's role in early child rearing has become rather invisible, something she must slot in around paid work, rather than the workplace changing to recognise parental roles in child rearing.⁸

⁴ Sandra Coney, "120th Anniversary of Suffrage," 19 September 2013, <http://piha.co.nz/bestwest/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Suffrage-Day-19-Sept-2013.pdf>. Also see: Sandra Coney's speech, "Why I back the Khartoum Place Suffrage Memorial," January 2011, <http://piha.co.nz/bestwest/2011/01/why-i-back-the-khartoum-place-suffrage-memorial>.

⁵ Sandra Coney, "International Women's Day," 8 March 2013, <http://piha.co.nz/bestwest/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/International-Womens-Day.pdf>.

⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁷ Ibid., 1.

⁸ Ibid., 2.

The gender pay gap still needed to be addressed, and “right from the beginning of women’s liberation we knew that women’s work was the bedrock of improving women’s status.” This impacted on women’s “independence, and their freedom.”⁹ Additional obstacles that held women back included “the resurgence of stereotyping of young girls” and “violence against women.”¹⁰ In relation to the decline in a collective women’s effort that had existed in the past, Coney suggested:

...the women’s voice is muted and so for many women facing workplace inequity, it is a lonely and personal fight. But the problems I’m talking about are not personal. They are the result of entrenched, systemic discrimination against women, and they can only be remedied by organised push-back and demands from women as a group.¹¹

Although recent history, these speeches demonstrated a common action taken by second wave feminists – to draw on past New Zealand women’s history and the present situation, in the attempt to demonstrate the progress that had been made in regards to gender equality and what still needed to be achieved.

Furthermore, Coney raised concerns about the need to recover women’s history within her 1986 *NZ Listener* article ‘We don’t need another hero – but we do need heroines’ in the introduction of *Out of the Frying Pan*:

One piece, ‘We don’t need another hero’, may at first sight appear to be misplaced here. But although its subject is the writing of women’s history – and, more specifically, about writing my first book, *Every Girl*, a history of the Auckland YWCA – it describes my personal reactions to uncovering the herstory of the women of the city in which I grew up. Researching *Every Girl* was a personal odyssey, during which I gained a new way of looking at my city and a passion for women’s history.¹²

Coney’s generation had not had heroines and women role models to look up to, and the reason for this was questioned:

Feminists have provided two answers to the question ‘Where are the famous women?’ In the early days of women’s liberation this question would be triumphantly produced as if to prove that women were of inferior calibre to men and this justified their inferior status. First, feminists pointed to the barriers in the way of female achievement – ‘the obstacle race’, as Germaine Greer called it. Then they asserted that exceptional women have indeed

⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹¹ Ibid., 6.

¹² Coney, introduction to *Out of the Frying Pan*, 7.

existed, but they have been ignored, or their accomplishments diminished or co-opted by men so that they have become hidden from history.¹³

Coney also stated “girls like myself, growing up in Auckland in the bland and homebound 1950s, needed the example of women like Ellen Melville placed before us as inspiration and encouragement.”¹⁴ The stories of ‘ordinary’ women and the “changing roles and experiences of women in New Zealand” were important aspects of *Every Girl*.¹⁵ Coney was critical of historians at this time. Although the nineteenth century had gained some attention, “the research, however, has rarely penetrated the twentieth century.”¹⁶ Coney reiterated the importance of women’s history:

The achievements of these courageous and determined women need to be recorded for the sake of the generations following them. Since so much of women’s history is not written, the task of interviewing surviving women becomes urgent. We do very much need our heroines.¹⁷

Overall, Coney showed a high level of motivation to uncover the history of New Zealand women.

Broadsheet magazine was valued by feminists as a resource that documented the progression of the second wave feminist movement from a feminist perspective, and is one of the reasons that *Broadsheet* is a historically significant primary source. This significance was highlighted by the *Broadsheet* Collective on numerous occasions, such as “Broadsheet must continue to be an alternative forum available to women in New Zealand. Archivally we are presenting another perspective of our time.”¹⁸ In Autumn 1997, the *Broadsheet* Collective revealed:

Feminist publishing has always been a marginal activity, and so too are all radical magazines. *Broadsheet* has not been the only magazine to experience a drop-off in subs, with falling incomes and impulse purchasing. It has also been the casualty of these New Right, ‘post-feminist’ times.¹⁹

¹³ Sandra Coney, “We don’t need another hero – but we do need heroines,” in *Out of the Frying Pan*, 54. Originally published in the *NZ Listener*, 1 November 1986.

¹⁴ Coney, “We don’t need another hero – but we do need heroines,” 57.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ The *Broadsheet* Collective, “Herspective,” *Broadsheet*, Spring/Kōanga 1992, 2.

¹⁹ The *Broadsheet* Collective, “Dear *Broadsheet* reader,” *Broadsheet*, Quarterly Autumn/ Ngahuru 1997, 2.

Broadsheet's final edition published in Winter 1997, was an important moment of remembrance and reflection. Past articles were published within this edition, and the progress of women in New Zealand society at that time was assessed. Issues discussed included: equal pay, abortion, women's spaces, family structures, the DPB, divorce, lesbianism, sexuality, violence, poverty and economic conditions. Contributions from long-term contributors were also included.²⁰ The final edition of *Broadsheet* was important because it gauged the situation at that particular time for women, whilst it also reflected on the past.

'Herstory diaries,' a common point of discussion in New Zealand second wave feminist secondary literature, also highlighted a connection with the past and present. This was evident in the reviews published by various feminists within *Broadsheet*. Sandra Coney's reviews of Herstory Diaries raised important points about the meaning of women's history, and in her article 'A Shade of Sandra' they were viewed as "a really valuable source of historical material about women."²¹ In November 1976, Coney reviewed the Dunedin Collective's 'Herstory 1977.' Coney stated, "this book shows plainly that there is a great history of New Zealand women waiting to be written."²² Similarly, Coney's review of the 'Herstory 1978' revealed, "our present women's movement is built on strong roots – they only await earthing out."²³ Furthermore, Coney's review of the 'Herstory 1982' admired aspects such as how it was an "invaluable resource for the future," and "Deidre has tracked down the movements and single events in the lives of the women with all the tenacity of a bloodhound."²⁴ This was a collaborative women's project that could be used as an informative resource historically, while being used in a practical way by second wave feminists at that time.

²⁰ For example: Sandra Coney's piece titled "A farewell to *Broadsheet* and all who have sailed on her."

²¹ Annie Goslyn and Sandra Coney, "A Shade of Sandra," *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 28.

²² Sandra Coney, review of *Herstory 1977*, by The Dunedin Collective for Women, *Broadsheet*, November 1976, 33.

²³ Sandra Coney, review of *New Zealand Herstory, 1978*, by The Dunedin Collective for Women, *Broadsheet*, November 1977, 33.

²⁴ Sandra Coney, review of *New Zealand Herstory 1982*, by Tauranga Women's Centre, *Broadsheet*, November 1981, 42.

New Zealand Women's Suffrage Day/ 1993 Centenary Year

Interpretation and remembrance of New Zealand Women's Suffrage Day was emphasised within *Broadsheet* over the years. For example, in September 1973 Sandra Coney discussed her previous understanding of the women's suffrage and what she had learnt:

The truth is, the "women earning the vote" argument was used as a face-saving device by politicians and others who felt they would be weak to acquiesce to the demands of "mere women". Make no mistake, women WON the vote. And women can continue to gain victories by fighting together in a strong, unified movement.¹

This anniversary was often noted in *Broadsheet*'s 'feminist diary',² and Women's Suffrage 'celebration' events were also advertised and later reflected on.³ At times it was conveyed as a day to remember "how far we still have to go," and protests were organised.⁴ In 1983 (90th anniversary) the September edition of *Broadsheet* was promoted with its inclusion of "women of courage and bravery who stood up for their rights and the rights of their sisters."⁵ Remembrance of this event by feminists consistently occurred over time and not just in 1993 when women did receive greater attention within the wider public.

Broadsheet provided insight into feminist attitudes towards the 1993 New Zealand Women's Suffrage Centenary Year. Feminists often questioned the celebratory nature of this occasion and the funds that were provided by the Suffrage Funding Committee. For example, at a Suffrage Day Breakfast in 1992, Sue Bradford presented a speech that discussed how financial assistance was declined for a child care centre, due to the large amount spent on "artistic, literary, historic and so on commemorations." Bradford noted, "a lot of us in community organisations are feeling pretty bloody fed up with the

¹ Sandra Coney, "Suffrage Day 1983 – 1973," *Broadsheet*, September 1973, 13.

² For example: "feminist diary," *Broadsheet*, October 1973, 1.

³ Advert for "Women's Suffrage Celebration," *Broadsheet*, September 1977, 14; "Suffrage Day 1979," *Broadsheet*, November 1979, 2.

⁴ For example: "Editorial: Suffrage Day – The Struggle Continues," *Broadsheet*, September 1978, 8. This included a Press Release by the British Women's Liberation Movement; Megan Cook, "Women's movement – The women's liberation movement," Updated 11 June 2013, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/video/27906/albert-park-demonstration-1971>.

⁵ "September Issue," *Broadsheet*, June 1983, 0.

whole Suffrage Year carry on.”⁶ The Auckland University Women’s Collective made a decision to avoid the “standard tea party to mark Women’s Suffrage Year” with a “Reclaim the Night March to highlight the fact that despite the gains which women have made, we still aren’t safe from male violence on the streets or in our homes.”⁷ Heather Worth’s article about feminist backlash in the media reflected on the achievements of the feminist movement and stated “this is taking responsibility. For this we must be able to celebrate.”⁸ A Suffrage Centenary Year cartoon provided much food for thought – it featured Jenny Shipley and Ruth Richardson, who were holding a list that stated “wages down, pay equity abolished, benefits cut, increased health charges, unfair electoral system, unemployment up, 84% male parl’t, teen pregnancies up, decreased women’s health funding, education out of reach.” The title of the cartoon read “1993 – What women have to celebrate in Suffrage Year...”⁹ Second wave feminists questioned and debated the ‘celebratory’ nature of this event, and attempted to bring the realities of the position of women to the surface.

Standing in the Sunshine

Sandra Coney had a prominent role in the creation of *Standing in the Sunshine* (1993), a women’s history project which included a published book and television series. Liz Greenslade and Coney’s application document for *Standing in the Sunshine* and the *Broadsheet* article ‘A Shade of Sandra,’ revealed much about the project.¹⁰ *Standing in the Sunshine* originated in 1985, where “the idea grew out of work Liz did on the Landmarks television and book project and also out of work both women did on the centenary of the Auckland YWCA, marked in 1986.”¹¹ The words, “we want 1993 to be

⁶ Sue Bradford, “New Zealand Divided,” *Broadsheet*, Summer/Raumati 1992, 12-15. Also see: Debbie Hager, “A Challenge To White Male Decision Making,” *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 14; Georgina Kirby, “The New Petition,” *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 15-16.

⁷ “reclaim the night,” *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 6.

⁸ Heather Worth, “Taking pot-shots at the “girls”,” *Broadsheet*, Winter/ Hotoke 1993, 38-40.

⁹ Alistair Nisbet, “1993 – What women have to celebrate in Suffrage Year,” *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 13.

¹⁰ Goslyn and Coney, “A Shade of Sandra,” 28-30; Liz Greenslade and Sandra Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application to the Suffrage Year Centennial Trust Whakatū Wāhine for funding of a major book and television series*, October 1991, in 1993 Suffrage Centennial Year Trust Project Files, record number 161/1/91, archive reference number ABKH W4788 7357, Box 4, National Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

¹¹ Greenslade and Coney, “Standing in the Sunshine Status Reports: The Book and Television Series,” in *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*.

a year of sunshine for all New Zealand women,”¹² emphasised a link with the projects title, which Coney revealed the background of:

...it was reminiscent of Broadsheet because when we chose the name ‘Broadsheet’ it was after discovering that just about everything you came up do [sic] with women had some awful sexual connotation. We spent ages trying to find a title for the magazine and it was the same for this book. We were looking for an apt quotation from one of the suffragists.¹³

The name was found in a Herstory Diary, and Coney explained “we’re not saying that we’ve actually got there yet, but we wanted to say something positive.”¹⁴ The background of the television series was discussed in the Status Report as part of the application document, where “after drawing up the chapter outlines for the book, Liz Greenslade and Sandra Coney turned their energies to creating the television series Standing in the Sunshine using archival footage, contemporary comment, dramatized vignettes and actuality footage.”¹⁵ As with many women’s history projects, there were challenges with research because of sources – “many of the topics have never been sourced, researched or collated before.”¹⁶ Oral histories were drawn on, and “the voices of older women are crucial to the series because they can give us first hand accounts of events they have lived through. We consider that these untold stories are of immense archival value.”¹⁷ Coney and Greenslade were “disturbed to find that there is a very cautious view within TVNZ that a single one hour documentary is sufficient to mark the event of Suffrage year. We believe that this would sell the year and all the women of New Zealand short.”¹⁸ There was a clear commitment to producing an in-depth project.

Sandra Coney and Liz Greenslade provided a list of aims and objectives which emphasised the necessity of this project for not only the women of New Zealand, but also for wider New Zealand society, so that there was a greater understanding of the position of New Zealand women.¹⁹ Aims included: “to use mass media to promote recognition of the contribution of women to the development of New Zealand,” “to retrieve the achievements and lives of New Zealand women in the past, Maori and

¹² Greenslade and Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 1.

¹³ Goslyn and Coney, “A Shade of Sandra,” 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Greenslade and Coney, “Standing in the Sunshine Status Reports: The Book and Television Series,” in *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Greenslade and Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 3.

Pakeha, and other ethnic and cultural groups,” “to reflect the diversity of New Zealand women and especially the concerns and achievements of Maori women,” “to make women’s history accessible and exciting,” “to provide an accurate record of how women achieved the vote in New Zealand and counteract myths about the century-long struggle for women’s rights,” “to contribute information, comment and debate to enable an assessment of the position of all women in New Zealand,” “to encourage new visions of goals and strategies for women in the next century,” “to provide a positive image of Suffrage Year and its significance,” “to raise the profile of New Zealand women as groundbreakers in overseas countries,” “to contribute significantly to the success of 1993 as a time of honouring, assessing and moving forward.” The importance of the recovery of women’s history was signposted by these aims, but there was also the notion of a present and future focus in regards to the position of women.

Furthermore, the objectives listed suggested how important this project would be for New Zealand women’s history, with an emphasis on the accessibility of women’s history to the public in the hope that there would be increased interest in women’s history.²⁰ Objectives included: “to have published by mid-1993 the first ever major illustrated popular social history covering events, issues and the lives of women over the past 100 years,” “to have produced and screened by mid-1993 a six-part television documentary series in prime time,” “to build interest in 1993 through a regular series on women’s history in a major national magazine to be published during 1992,” “to humanise and make history live through the use of oral histories and women’s words.” The proposed target audience was “women and girls of all cultural backgrounds, all ages and all socio-economic groups.”²¹ Coney and Greenslade also stated their “secondary target audience” as “all New Zealanders, so that men learn about and honour the contribution to women to the development of New Zealand, at every level.”²² Overall these objectives and aims demonstrated great consideration of New Zealand women and the meaning that such a project would hold. At the same time they suggested much about the state of New Zealand women’s history at this time.

²⁰ Ibid., 4.

²¹ Ibid., 8.

²² Ibid.

There was an important relationship between the second wave feminist movement itself and the *Standing in the Sunshine* project. In regards to the published book and women's history, Coney noted:

People are more familiar with contemporary women's history and I was interested in what people didn't know about. The other reason is it is very difficult to evaluate recent events. Whatever you say will be much more contentious. When I started writing about the women's movement, for instance, I cut it off very early. I talked about its origins and decided not to get into its development, because I would have been writing that from what is very much *my* opinion.²³

It's been interesting doing a historical survey because it has made me think about things in the modern movement too. There always has been a feminist movement in New Zealand, but there has been a tendency to think of the two waves of the 19th century and the 1970s onwards. In fact, there have always been women who have fought for women's causes.²⁴

Comparisons were made between the working environment of the *Standing in the Sunshine* project and the *Broadsheet* Collective, where for Coney, "it did remind me at times of what it was like editing *Broadsheet* because I ended up with all these people I was coordinating." The project itself demonstrated a collective effort that was common during the times of the second wave feminist movement.²⁵ This discussion allowed for Coney to convey her thoughts about the position of women at this time, where "one of the things that has been brought home to me through media coverage of Suffrage Year is just how far we have to go and how entrenched male power is," and "women participate in the world on men's terms still. So I think that there is an enormous amount of work still to be done."²⁶

Sandra Coney's recognition of the importance of the voice of Maori women and the acknowledgment of difference was evident in how she approached this piece of work. Coney and Liz Greenslade had "been at pains to ensure the project recognises the diverse backgrounds and experiences of New Zealanders: whether Maori or Pakeha, or other cultural group, rural, provincial or urban, paid working women and women in the home."²⁷ There was an emphasis on the inclusion of difference, as "gathering material, both written and visual, from a wide geographical spread is important for the project, as we wish to include the experiences and achievements of a wide range of women

²³ Goslyn and Coney, "A Shade of Sandra," 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁷ Greenslade and Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 8.

throughout.”²⁸ In regards to the published book, Coney had “wanted Maori women to research and write about their own history.”²⁹ An observation of the television series highlighted the bicultural focus and inclusion of the voices of Maori women, who commented on issues with race relations and the second wave feminist movement.³⁰ Whether this was influenced by factors reflective of the times, such as the bicultural emphasis (the 150th Treaty Anniversary had recently occurred), or the understanding that second wave feminists had of the inclusion of difference, *Standing in the Sunshine* represented the concern with the diversity of women’s voices.

Financial assistance was a crucial aspect of *Standing in the Sunshine*’s development. This project was started well before 1993, and financial assistance had previously been gained from sources such as New Zealand on Air.³¹ Support from TVNZ for the television series was viewed as a “milestone,”³² while support from Penguin books for the published book was also significant because of the size of this project – “there have been very few books that big produced in New Zealand with that level of photographs and images.”³³ Sandra Coney revealed the challenge to get financial support earlier on in the process:

At that time, there wasn’t very much interest, partly because Suffrage Year seemed so far away and it was hard to get across its significance, and also because 1987 was the year of the share market crash which meant that commercial sponsors, who didn’t sponsor women’s projects anyway, found it even less attractive.³⁴

Furthermore, “...before the establishment of the Suffrage Trust, there was a lack of recognition of the significance of Suffrage Year. Together with the downturn of the economy, this resulted in limited funding coming from these sources.”³⁵ Additional financial support was required and was sought through the ‘1993 Suffrage Year Centennial Trust Whakatū Wāhine,’ like many Suffrage Year Centenary projects at this

²⁸ Greenslade and Coney, “Standing in the Sunshine Status Reports: The Book and Television Series,” in *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*.

²⁹ Goslyn and Coney, “A Shade of Sandra,” 28.

³⁰ *Standing in the Sunshine*, Video recording, directed by Judy Rymer (1993; Auckland: Isambard Productions, 1993, Viewers DVD copy). Episode One, “Power.” Episode Two, “Work.” Episode Three, “Sex and Family.” Episode Four, “Freedom.”

³¹ Greenslade and Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 9.

³² Greenslade and Coney, “Standing in the Sunshine Status Reports: The Book and Television Series,” in *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*.

³³ Goslyn and Coney, “A Shade of Sandra,” 29.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁵ Greenslade and Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 1.

time. Liz Greenslade and Coney demonstrated the value of *Standing in the Sunshine* within this context and wrote in their application “our project meets all the funding criteria developed by the Trust.”³⁶ This was a prime example of how women’s history gained greater support at certain times. Perhaps the ‘celebratory’ nature of the Suffrage Centenary Year that some feminists felt strongly against could be utilised in a productive way to gain funding for much needed women’s history projects.

This financial support for *Standing in the Sunshine* was also met with criticism, which resulted in support within the framework of *Broadsheet*. Pat Rosier expressed concern in her column ‘Nelson Notes’ about the politics, the funding and the ‘tokenism’ of the Suffrage Year Centenary. Rosier was most concerned about journalists’ attitudes towards Sandra Coney and *Standing in the Sunshine*.³⁷ Likewise, Anne Else showed concern for the backlash Coney received – “she alone received quite enough ‘jeers from the cynical male public’ to show that Suffrage Year was far from safe or comfortable for feminists and feminism.”³⁸ An example of a critical article about the *Standing in the Sunshine* project included ‘The new girls’ network’ by Jan Corbett in *Metro* magazine.³⁹ Corbett wrote about the great amount of funds received in comparison to other projects, and “suffrage year has been captured by a select number of this generation.”⁴⁰ Sources which allowed Coney to speak about *Standing in the Sunshine* provided reasons why this project was worthy of funding. In the news article ‘Out from the shadow of men’ by Anna Dunbar, the importance of the financial contribution towards the project was explained – the price of the book needed to be kept low, the cost of the photographs was high and “there were also a lot of contributors to the book and one of the aims was to pay everybody for their contribution. It would have been very inappropriate in Suffrage Year not to have paid women.”⁴¹ While in Brigid Shadbolt’s *Stamp* article, ‘Fight for a Foothold,’ *Standing in the Sunshine* was important because it had uncovered the history of New Zealand women and it would make this history “accessible to the general public rather than academic.”⁴²

³⁶ Ibid., 8.

³⁷ Pat Rosier, “Nelson Notes,” *Broadsheet*, Spring 1993, 22.

³⁸ Anne Else, “Letter,” *Broadsheet*, Autumn 1994, 3.

³⁹ Jan Corbett, “The new girls’ network,” *Metro*, September 1993, 83-90.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 83.

⁴¹ Anna Dunbar, “Out from the shadow of men,” *The Press Weekend – supplementary*, October 2, 1993, 4.

⁴² Brigid Shadbolt, “The fight for a foothold,” *Stamp*, September 1992, no. 34, 16.

New Zealand historians also provided an important assessment of *Standing in the Sunshine* at the time. Barbara Brookes emphasised the value it would have within a teaching environment. A critique that stood out was “my fear for *Standing in the Sunshine* is that those who hold to the view that women’s history is about trivia will find their opinion vindicated without being forced to examine the assumptions behind their value system.”⁴³ Brookes highlighted Sandra Coney’s “social history skills” in her conclusion, and believed “Sandra Coney and Lis Greenslade are to be thanked for their foresight and dedication and bringing the book to fruition in the year it was designed to celebrate.” This was a publication that would “encourage more interest and research in women’s history and hence will heighten the debate about the centrality of gender in our nation’s past.”⁴⁴ Similarly, Michael King suggested “it is, of course, the flagship publication for Suffrage Year. And, contents aside, the size of the grants invested in its research, writing and production has guaranteed that it will be more closely scrutinised than any other volume published in New Zealand in 1993.”⁴⁵ King critically noted aspects such as “some absences” and “some strange inconsistencies.” And although Maori sections were described as “weaker” than non-Maori, it was “impossible to think of another work of general New Zealand history in which Maori and Pakeha elements are so well integrated.” King believed *Standing in the Sunshine* “is far and away the most comprehensive work of social history published in New Zealand.”⁴⁶ Caroline Daley also contributed a *Broadsheet* review in 1993, and took a critical approach towards the way the history of Maori women was handled, and the lack of both a multicultural approach and the accounts of conservative women. While Daley believed that “for it to be history we need to move beyond this celebratory ‘herstory’ style,” she also wrote:

But these are the criticism of an academic historian. *Standing in the Sunshine* is an impressive contribution to the flurry of suffrage year publications. It is beautifully produced, and has the most impressive collection of photographs and the illustrations on

⁴³ Barbara L. Brookes, review of *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, edited by Sandra Coney, *Historical News*, May 1994, 10-11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴⁵ Michael King, review of *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, edited by Sandra Coney, *Metro*, November 1993, 160.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

New Zealand women. It is a joy to dip into. If you want a reference and resource work on Maori and Pakeha women, 1893-1993, then this is the book to buy.⁴⁷

The interpretation of *Standing in the Sunshine* by New Zealand historians was important because this work had been promoted by its creators as a major contribution to the history of New Zealand women.

From a modern-day perspective, the *Standing in the Sunshine* television series is a valuable historic source that allows an audience to visually witness the recovery of New Zealand women's history in 1993, as well as the position of New Zealand women during the early 1990s. The opening phrase spoken by the narrator of each episode of this four-part series was "The question is often asked, 'What do women want?' – We want men to stand out of our sunshine, that is all."⁴⁸ The four episodes, which aired on television in 1993, were titled 'Power,' 'Work,' 'Sex and Family' and 'Freedom.' All four episodes brought together an array of women's stories, and featured women who were part of that second wave feminist era/generation, as well as younger and older generations. The issues that were brought to the surface during this television series revealed much about the position of women and demonstrated why feminism was still needed. Second wave feminist concerns were reflected throughout.

Episode One tilted 'Power' looked at the political power that women had fought for.⁴⁹ Connections were made with the past, while the present situation was discussed – how the past efforts of women needed to be interpreted and what needed to happen. As Marilyn Waring argued, "we want to remind the women who think that it's cosy to build statues and have cucumber sandwiches one hundred years later, that there is still a challenge to be met." The audience was reminded of the first wave feminist era in the 1890s, where New Zealand women could not vote and in regards to the Electoral Bill (1891 and 1892) there was a widely held belief that "person does not include female." Depicted as facing a challenging environment (biased media, insults, two defeats in regards to the Electoral Bill), the "women got on with it," which resulted in a win for New Zealand women on the 28th November 1893 – "person includes female." Although

⁴⁷ Caroline Daley, review of *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women Since They Won the Vote*, edited by Sandra Coney, *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 55.

⁴⁸ Opening phrase used in *Standing in the Sunshine*, Video recording, directed by Judy Rymer. Also quoted in *Standing in the Sunshine: an application*, 1.

⁴⁹ Episode One, "Power," *Standing in the Sunshine*.

this success had occurred, the women from the second wave feminist generation brought to the surface the reality of the situation in the early 1990s. Women featured in this episode raised concerns about the gender inequality within the political arena (as discussed by feminists in sources such as *Heading Nowhere in a Navy Blue Suit*), such as the small number of women in parliament. Eva Rickard spoke of her dislike for the political structure, and how it was seen as more beneficial to fight from outside as opposed to inside. To have increased numbers of women in parliament was regarded as beneficial, for example Ruth Richardson stated “how do we humanise this place is the question that women always ask.” How women were treated in parliament demonstrated that a lot of the issues came down to an inequality between genders. The criticism was different, as Helen Clark noted, for men it was about their ‘ideas’ and women more about ‘looks’. This focus on difference was important, as it connected to both what women could bring to parliament in a positive way, but also how gender difference could be a negative aspect also for women. Staying true to your beliefs, in the face of a challenge, was highlighted as necessary. For example, Fran Wilde and the Homosexual Law Reform Bill where “one loses a lot of support in the cabinet” and Lianne Dalziel who talked of feminist principles, ‘being like a man’ created no real advantage. An interesting piece of current affairs footage was included in this episode – Paul Holmes questioned Helen Clark about why she was chosen as a deputy leader, which focused on her ‘being a woman.’ Clark forcefully responded to this question and suggested that such a position was hard to fight for – it was important to have a ‘women’s’ perspective, but women had to have the skills to be successful.

Episode Two titled ‘Work’ looked at the stories of women from a range of different occupations.⁵⁰ A major issue discussed was the low-status value often applied to certain jobs such as care-work, even though these were essential jobs within any society. Also discussed was pay inequality, work restrictions, inequality between women themselves, working conditions and gender stereotypes. The voice of less publicly-known women in various occupations were included throughout, such as Barbara Wyeth (kitchen hand), Silei Brown (cleaner), Lili Tuioti (principal) and Alison Lash (builder). The ‘women belong in the home’ idea was an issue that hampered the ability for women to pursue occupations they were actually capable of. High Court Judge Silvia Cartwright

⁵⁰ Episode Two, “Work,” *Standing in the Sunshine*.

discussed “subtle discrimination,” by which she meant the need to work all hours and sexist prejudice. Child care was considered closely related to women and their ability to re-enter the workforce. Related to this was a discussion about the importance of Kohanga Reo – “an example of voluntary childcare growing to embrace education and a whole culture,” as Ruira Brown revealed. Sharyn Cederman talked of her career and how “power in organisations is the capacity to make change happen,” and structures needed to be questioned. One of the final points discussed was that society had started to see at this time, that the work women had been doing could potentially be jobs that earn them money, which drew on the interpretation of unpaid work. Overall, the episode ‘Work’ demonstrated how it was not easy for women to make improvements, although it was essential that women had the right attitude. As noted by Annie Crummer, it was important to “accept that it’s hard work.”

Episode Three, ‘Sex and Family,’ conveyed dominant beliefs about gender expectations, family and the position of women.⁵¹ It began by looking at the emphasis placed on the role of being a mother, and therefore pressure on women because it was seen as a “public duty.” Comparisons were made between Maori and Pakeha culture, and family values. The meaning of marriage in earlier times, when there were certain rules which existed in regards to sexuality and where courtship equalled a marriage contract were reflected on, as well as the change of having greater choice and marriages that were not so economically based. One of the topics which had an important link with the second wave feminist movement was the importance of women having knowledge about sexuality. Women in the past were largely uninformed, and there was a great need for sex education. There were evident changes over time in how sexuality was interpreted, such as the promotion of purity at certain points, and lesbianism being something that was not spoken of. Contraceptive advice had been fairly scarce, with the emphasis on STDs and not pregnancy. ‘Sex and Family’ also discussed abortion, family roles, gender stereotypes, divorce, body image and beauty ideals that put pressure on women to ‘be’ a certain way, the Health and Beauty movement, and life after children. This episode ended with a thought-provoking conclusion – “clever women know nowadays that there’s not simply one way to do things. They recognise that control of their own bodies rests in their own hands, not with husbands, church or state.”

⁵¹ Episode Three, “Sex and Family,” *Standing in the Sunshine*.

Episode Four titled ‘Freedom’ began with a recap of the previous three episodes.⁵² The voice-over drew attention to “small victories won by women in their everyday lives” and linked this to the importance of ‘change.’ There was a diversity of topics discussed in this episode, but a major focus was women and sport. Glenda Hughes talked of the ignorance associated with the medical opinions that deemed women could not equally participate because of the fact that they were women. Myths had been created in relation women and their ability to participate in sport, so women had challenged these to a great extent. One such example was the story of Margaret Clark, who had climbed mountains. Clark noted that mountain climbing by women alone was different to women climbing mountains with men. Without men, women could be dependent by default and “know you can cope with anything.” Perhaps Clark was also speaking figuratively at the same time. Restrictions and dependency was aided by increased mobility in terms of transport, such as the use of bicycles. Clothing fashion trends and the promotion of certain body ideals had also been restrictive. Aspects such as body building, beauty contests and plastic surgery, and “freedom to reconstruct their bodies” were also highlighted under the umbrella of this episode’s ‘freedom’ theme. The WLM had a lot of relevance at this point in the discussion, not just sexual freedom but also political freedom. Overall, this was an important project that represented the importance of the recovery of the history of New Zealand women, and made relevant to the times it was produced. Most importantly, the value of *Standing in the Sunshine* (the book aspect of this project far more predominantly),⁵³ still exists today which is evident in how this is a highly referenced women’s history text.

Collaborative Women’s Projects

Sandra Coney has contributed to a number of collaborative New Zealand women’s projects which conveyed an effort to recover and record the stories of New Zealand women. Examples of publications include *The Book of New Zealand Women / Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*,⁵⁴ *Women Together: A History of Women’s Organisations in New*

⁵² Episode Four, “Freedom,” *Standing in the Sunshine*.

⁵³ Access to this television series was a challenge I encountered during the research of my thesis.

⁵⁴ Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, *The Book of New Zealand Women/ Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, eds. Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991).

Zealand: Nga Ropu Wahine o te Motu, and *My Father and Me: New Zealand Women Remember*.⁵⁵ All three texts were published in the early 1990s, and discussed within a feminist framework within *Broadsheet* magazine. These pieces reveal another element of Coney's scholarship, the context in which her pieces of work were within and connection to the second wave feminist movement. Each publication was also unique in that there was the collection of stories by women based on their experiences, a history of women's organisations that was placed within the context of New Zealand society, and historic accounts of women from the past. These texts have been reviewed in other sources, but the discussion will focus on their depiction from a feminist perspective within *Broadsheet*.

My Father and Me depicted father and daughter relationships from the perspective of the women who contributed their stories. Editor Penelope Hansen wrote, "on the whole, well known women were invited to contribute simply because they were well known and spent their childhoods in New Zealand, and an attempt was made to provide a diversity of geographical location, age, occupation and racial background."⁵⁶ Other points of discussion raised were "the lifestyles depicted here are quintessentially New Zealand living styles,"⁵⁷ and:

There hasn't been much written about fathers and daughters. It's an unexplored relationship. But in an age when women are moving more into the workforce and men sharing more – albeit marginally, according to the Hillary Commission statistics – in the childcare and the housekeeping which inevitably goes with it, it's timely to look at fathering and its impact on daughters in New Zealand.⁵⁸

Sandra Coney's contribution was an edited version of her article 'Another Bloody Girl': Daughter of a Kiwi Sporting Hero.'⁵⁹ Coney introduced this essay as "not just a portrait of my father, nor one of my family; neither is it just an essay about growing up. Although it is all of those things, it is also about male culture in New Zealand, viewed from the perspective of someone who is now a feminist."⁶⁰ While centred on the relationship with her father, the story was also about her background at Piha. Coney

⁵⁵ Penelope Hansen, *My Father and Me: New Zealand Women Remember*, ed. Penelope Hansen (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1992).

⁵⁶ Penelope Hansen, introduction to *My Father and Me: New Zealand Women Remember*, 10.

⁵⁷ Hansen, introduction to *My Father and Me*, 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

⁵⁹ Sandra Coney, "Sandra Coney: 'Another Bloody Girl': Daughter of a Kiwi Sporting Hero," in *My Father and Me*, 123-138. Also see: Sandra Coney, *Out of the Frying Pan*, 13-43.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 123.

also reminisced about her introduction to WL in the conclusion of this piece.⁶¹ Athina Tsoulis reviewed this book in *Broadsheet*, where she connected the overarching topic to relevant feminist issues:

...feminists refused to allow society to continue the silence around sexual abuse in and out of the home, wife battering and rape within marriage to name a few. With so much violence perpetrated against women by men, other relationships with men have been neglected... My Father and Me, although not all the contributors in the book would call themselves feminist, does to varying degrees examine women's relationships with one of the most important men in their lives.⁶²

Tsoulis looked at general themes that the women discussed and the generation of women seemed to play an important part in these interpretations. The bicultural element was also mentioned, as "the subtitle of the book reads 'New Zealand women remember', but it seems here as in the rest of our so-called bicultural society, New Zealand means Anglo-Saxon Pakeha and (now) Maori." Diversity in terms of 'culture' did not appear to be represented so well.⁶³

Another project that had a connection to the 1993 New Zealand Women's Suffrage Centenary Year was Anne Else's *Women Together*. This was discussed in the same *Broadsheet* issue as *Standing in the Sunshine*, where Mary Varnham interviewed Else.⁶⁴ Varnham noted:

'Women Together' should automatically find a place in the libraries of historians, writers and everybody else concerned with women's interests and issues. I hope, though, that its readership doesn't stop there. This is a book to thrust at anyone who wonders what women have been up to for the last 150 years.

The book was conceived as a Suffrage year project by the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, whose chief historian Jock Phillips called together a committee of Maori and Pakeha women, including historians and representatives from the Ministry of Women's Affairs, in October 1990.⁶⁵

The focus of this book was the history of women's organisations, which Else discussed.⁶⁶ Amongst chapters that discussed women's organisations within the context of lesbian organising, immigration, performing arts, arts and crafts, sport, rural,

⁶¹ Ibid., 137.

⁶² Athina Tsoulis, review of *My Father and Me: New Zealand Women Remember* edited by Penelope Hansen, *Broadsheet*, Winter/Hotoke 1992, 43.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Anne Else and Mary Varnham, "Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand," *Broadsheet*, Summer 1993, 34.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 35.

education, service, employment, religion, welfare, politics, and Me Aro Koe kit e Hā o Hine-Ahu-One (Maori women's organising), was Sandra Coney's contribution about women's health organisations. Coney had written the introduction to the chapter 'Challenging 'The Little Health of Ladies', as well as articles such as the 'Parents Centres New Zealand 1952–', and 'Fertility Action 1984 –'. Coney wrote:

Because it is so intertwined with notions of morality and women's role in society, women's health work is deeply affected by current social ideology. As freedoms have been won, women's lives have changed, and aspirations have altered, the focus has shifted; yet there are often striking historical parallels, and persistent areas of concern.⁶⁷

Furthermore, "the proposed implementation of a market model of health care provision also threatened to undermine the progress that had been made on the ethical and patients' rights issues. In the early 1990s, most women's health groups feel under extreme pressure..."⁶⁸ Many of the topics discussed within this introduction chapter, highlighted connections to Coney's own health activism.

In their introduction to *The Book of New Zealand Women / Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams revealed that this project "grew out of a desire to put together an alternative history – the history of women in Aotearoa/New Zealand."⁶⁹ The reasons for a biographical approach included:

First, research in women's history here, as elsewhere, has focussed on recovering the lives of individual women. Second, although much research has been undertaken in the last decade, there are still considerable gaps which make it difficult to construct a comprehensive narrative account. Finally, this seemed to us the best way of conveying a great deal of particular information while also providing a base from which generalisations could be drawn.⁷⁰

There was an emphasis on individual stories and that women's history needed to be documented as accurately as possible. This project was viewed as a source of inspiration for future research.⁷¹ Sources of women's history were often challenging to deal with:

Women have also been prolific writers of diaries and journals, and keepers of sketchbooks...in the record that remains, however, there is much unevenness. The range of

⁶⁷ Sandra Coney, "Health Organisations," in *Women Together*, 241.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁶⁹ Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, introduction to *The Book of New Zealand Women/ Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, vii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, x-xi.

sources left by men is much wider, drawing as it does on the history of public events and political record; these sources also tend to be better preserved.⁷²

Even so, women's stories could be told by being "imaginative and infinitely more persistent. But the absence of sources does not preclude the writing of women's history."⁷³ Coney's contribution consisted of numerous women's stories: Jean Begg, Agnes Busby, Elizabeth Caradus, Amy Daldy, Pearl Dawson, Annabella Mary Geddes and Mary A. Geddes, Elsie Griffin, Olive Jones, Suzie Mactier, Ellen Melville, Annie Schnackenberg, Jean Stevenson, Elsie Walker, and Eliza White. Many of these women had had an affiliation with the Auckland Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which was the central women's organisation discussed in Coney's *Every Girl*. Pat Rosier's review in *Broadsheet* largely focused on the representation of Maori and Pakeha:

More than any other publication I know of that purports to be about "New Zealand women", *The Book of New Zealand Women/ Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* includes Maori women. I am sure there will be debate about individual inclusions and omissions, as there will be for the book as a whole; nonetheless, Maori women of the immediate and distant past of Aotearoa are present in this volume.⁷⁴

After discussions a selection of women's stories that had been previously hidden from history, Rosier concluded her review with, "New Zealand women, both Maori and Pakeha have always played an essential role in all aspects of New Zealand life, and this book is a valuable contribution to the documentation of that. If it is not in your local public and school libraries harass the librarians until it is."⁷⁵ The nature of Coney's scholarship in general suggests why these three collaborative projects (which still have a significant place in the understanding of New Zealand women's history) would have appealed in terms of making a contribution.

Published Works – Sandra Coney

Sandra Coney's women's history scholarship also consists of the published books, *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985* (1986), *I Do: 125 Years of Weddings in New Zealand* (1995) and *Stroppy Sheilas and Gutsy*

⁷² Ibid., x.

⁷³ Ibid., xi.

⁷⁴ Pat Rosier, review of *The Book of New Zealand Women/ Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* edited by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, *Broadsheet*, Autumn/Ngahuru 1992, 53.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 52.

Girls: New Zealand Women of Dash and Daring (1998).⁷⁶ Sandra Coney's foreword to Ellen Ellis' *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps*, also has relevance within this context. These published books further emphasise topics of discussion that have been raised during this thesis in regards to recovering women's history – the individual stories of women, the position of New Zealand women, how women's history was achieved and the representation of feminism.

Sandra Coney revealed in her introduction to *Stroppy Sheilas and Gutsy Girls* the criteria for inclusion in this text, which did “not claim to cover every woman who made a mark in the history of New Zealand,⁷⁷ or even to be representative. It is a selection, a pot pourri, aimed at entertaining as much as informing and inspiring. Women were chosen less for their worthiness and more for their guts.”⁷⁸ It was important that ‘stroppy sheilas’ existed in a modern context within New Zealand society because what the women had done to meet the criteria of inclusion of this book, “would still be a cause for comment today.”⁷⁹ The position of New Zealand women at certain moments was demonstrated throughout this work. The example of Emily Gibson (Labour Party, writer) stood out in this respect:

At the turn of the century wives were supposed to be docile domestic drudges, preoccupied with dinners. But there was at least one wife in New Zealand who believed women's place was just as much on the barricades as bathing babies, and she set about rousing a rebellion among her sisters.⁸⁰

The story of Elizabeth Yates (politician) was also informative of the position of New Zealand women in the political arena, as “in 1893 New Zealand women didn't have the vote, and no woman had been elected to a city council or hospital board. This total lack of political representation by women did not faze Elizabeth Yates.”⁸¹ Coney also noted that “it was only in 1993, 100 years after her election, that she finally got some

⁷⁶ Sandra Coney, *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985* (Auckland: Auckland YWCA, 1986); Sandra Coney, *I Do: 125 Years of Weddings in New Zealand* (Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 1995); Sandra Coney, *Stroppy Sheilas and Gutsy Girls: New Zealand Women of Dash and Daring* (Birkenhead: Tandem Press, 1998).

⁷⁷ Although it was also mentioned that Germaine Greer had been included because “her antics in this country in 1972 earn her a place in any collection of stroppy Sheilas,” 61.

⁷⁸ Coney, introduction to *Stroppy Sheilas and Gutsy Girls*, 9.

⁷⁹ Coney, *Stroppy Sheilas and Gutsy Girls*, 61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 28.

acknowledgement for the difficulty of her role...⁸² The stories of individual women⁸³ revealed a number of values that were admired: leadership, bravery, challenging misrepresentations and dominant ideals, independence, being a women before ‘her’ time, self-sufficient, skilled, educated, a volunteer, a future generation focus, role models, gutsy, revolutionary, being the ‘first’ women to achieve in traditionally male spaces, public world success, and defying stereotypes in areas like sport. This publication was reflective of the style of women’s history achieved by *The Book of New Zealand Women*, in how it brought together a collection of women’s individual stories.

The state of New Zealand women’s history can be depicted through the intentions and explanations provided by Sandra Coney, who found topics to research that had provoked a personal interest,⁸⁴ yet there appeared to be a gap in the historical record. Coney’s ‘Foreword’ to Ellen Ellis’ *Teachers for South Africa*, demonstrated her influence in the direction of this work, which had a connection to *Standing in the Sunshine* – “the collective biography, the recreation of lives from the past joined in common experience, is the new task of history writing. The broad-brush history of New Zealand has been painted. Now it is time to excavate the human stories that created historic events.” Topics included the role of women, national identity in an overseas place, attitudes within New Zealand society, and personal stories. Sources used included “archive records, and letters and diaries held by their families.”⁸⁵ Ellen Ellis’ ‘Acknowledgments’ section stated “my first thanks are to Sandra Coney, whose research instincts noted the reference to ‘Teachers for South Africa’ and started me on this journey.”⁸⁶ Similarly, Coney expressed a connection to *Standing in the Sunshine* in *I Do*, as well as her interest in the subject of ‘weddings’ and a gap in the historiography – “yet the wedding is the principal social ritual of Western societies and its star shows no signs of dimming.” Coney also noted the “growing recognition that the private world is worthy of study,” at this time.⁸⁷ In *Every Girl*, Coney noted “this is not a conventional institutional history. I have attempted to place the YWCA on a broader canvas, to use it

⁸² Ibid., 31.

⁸³ Sandra Coney’s publication *Every Girl* also revealed numerous individual stories of women associated with the Auckland YWCA. For example: Amey Dadly, 122-125; Pearl Dawson, 172-174; Jean Begg, 220-227.

⁸⁴ Coney and Worth, “Sandra Coney,” 263.

⁸⁵ Sandra Coney, forward to *Teachers for South Africa: New Zealand Women at the South African War Concentration Camps* by Ellen Ellis (Paekakariki: Hanorah Books, 2010), 8.

⁸⁶ Ellen Ellis, “Acknowledgements,” in *Teachers for South Africa*. No page number.

⁸⁷ Coney, *I Do*, 4.

as a window for examining the changing roles and status of women in New Zealand.”⁸⁸ The kind of contribution that Coney had made to New Zealand women’s history was clear through these discussions, and furthermore within book reviews published within *Broadsheet* magazine.⁸⁹

As an experienced second wave feminist, Sandra Coney’s representation of feminism within historic contexts not exclusively focused on the second wave feminist movement is interesting. ‘Feminism’ was often drawn on in different time periods, which supported the belief that feminist efforts occurred as a continuum rather than as two movements. At other times, feminism was discussed more directly. For example, *I Do*, which illustrated the history of weddings through photographs, discussed the WLM and the impact on wedding traditions:

The other challenge to traditional practices came from the women’s liberation movement. It denounced traditional marriage and its trappings as oppressive to women and criticised the wedding ceremonials as a transfer of ownership in which the woman passed from one male owner – her father – to another – her husband.⁹⁰

Photographs of weddings during the 1960s and 1970s were displayed within the chapter ‘Changing Traditions,’ and illustrated the “breaking of customs and conventions” at this time.⁹¹ The relationship between the WLM and the Auckland YWCA was brought out in *Every Girl*, in regards to the YWCA’s motivations, issues it supported, ideals and methods. This was more specifically relevant to the chapter titled ‘Monuments are out-of-date and people are important.’⁹² Interestingly, “the Auckland YWCA described itself in 1979 as an organisation “by women, for women, about women, involving women, developing women’s potential.” This was essentially a description of a feminist organisation.”⁹³ The YWCA did not, however, seem entirely connected to this movement – “where the YWCA saw itself fitting into this maelstrom that was the women’s movement was a moot question.”⁹⁴ In an assessment of the time period in which the second wave feminist movement occurred, Coney reflected that “the

⁸⁸ Coney, *Every Girl*, 1.

⁸⁹ See Margot Roth, review of *Every Girl: A Social History of Women and YWCA in Auckland 1885-1985* by Sandra Coney, *Broadsheet*, November 1986, 42-43; Lisa Howard-Smith, review of *I Do: 125 Years of Weddings in New Zealand* by Sandra Coney, *Broadsheet*, Summer/Raumati 1995, 57.

⁹⁰ Coney, *I Do*, 10.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 86-91.

⁹² Coney, “Monuments are out-of-date and people are important,” in *Every Girl*, 266-288.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 279-280.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 280.

seventies and eighties were turbulent years, years of enormous social change in the community. Women were questioning everything about the traditional expectations held of them.”⁹⁵ Overall, Coney’s women’s history has allowed an audience to learn further about the position of New Zealand women through these historic accounts, which are important given Coney’s feminist background.

Piha History

This thesis would be incomplete without including Sandra Coney’s Piha history work. A 2009 Radio New Zealand interview, referred to Coney as the “unofficial local historian for Piha.”⁹⁶ The radio interviewer drew on the content from the Piha website that Coney had developed – another source which has allowed for greater access to this aspect of New Zealand history.⁹⁷ *Piha: A History in Images* (1997), *Piha: Guardians of the Iron Sands: the First 75 Years of the Piha Surf Life Saving Club* (2009), and *On the Radar: The Story of Piha’s World War 2 Radar Station* (2013), not only demonstrate the immense amount of Piha research that Coney has achieved, they further exemplify the nature of Coney’s work in general: an emphasis on the importance of people, community, and the local.⁹⁸ A comment by Peter Stockwell in the prologue to *On the Radar*, noted that Coney had “uncovered a story that could easily have been forgotten.”⁹⁹ Although Coney evidently had a wealth of knowledge of Piha, this particular focus on the radar station, with its “military matters and science,” had caused an “out of my comfort zone” experience.¹⁰⁰ Coney stated in *Piha: A History in Images*, that “I decided to publish the book myself because the publishers I talked to favoured something much more modest and I wanted to do justice to the place I love. By self-publishing I was able to create the book I thought people who also love Piha would

⁹⁵ Ibid., 286.

⁹⁶ “Your place – Piha,” *Afternoons* on 05 Feb 2009, Radio New Zealand., <http://www.radionz.co.nz/audio/player/1856339>. At this time, Coney was researching for further publications.

⁹⁷ See <http://www.piha.co.nz/>.

⁹⁸ Sandra Coney, *Piha: A History in Images* (Auckland: Keyhole Press, 1997); Sandra Coney, *Piha: Guardians of the Iron Sands: the First 75 Years of the Piha Surf Life Saving Club* (Waitakere City: N.Z: Piha Surf Life Saving Club, 2009); Sandra Coney, *On the Radar: The Story of Piha’s World War 2 Radar Station* (Auckland: Keyhole Press and Protect Piha Heritage, 2013).

⁹⁹ Peter Stockwell, prologue to *On the Radar*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 7.

enjoy.”¹⁰¹ This Piha history only further demonstrated Coney’s interest in social history that was also expressed through her contribution to New Zealand women’s history.

The introduction to *Piha: A History in Images*, revealed Coney’s involvement in the creation of a Piha calendar (which can be viewed at the Alexander Turnbull Library). The cover of this calendar stated, “The Piha Calendar 1996, compiled by Sandra Coney, *A celebration of the history of the West Coast of Auckland’s most famous beach*,” and the page for each month included a photograph accompanied by text.¹⁰² Involvement with the creation of this calendar influenced “the idea of a photographic book. I realised that Piha was perhaps better represented in images than in words.”¹⁰³ Coney’s discussions of how she has created her Piha scholarship, revealed much about her approach to this field of history. Coney noted that:

A photographic book is, by its nature, limited in the availability of images. In choosing images I have to balance the intrinsic interest of the image with telling the story. And while I was amazed at the wealth of photographs that emerged from collections, I was not able to get around everyone in the time I had available to complete the project.¹⁰⁴

With 25 chapters, photographs conveyed a great variety of the different aspects of Piha – from ‘Te Kawerau a Maki – Maori at Piha’ through to ‘A Final Snapshot – Piha at the End of the Millennium.’¹⁰⁵ Bronwyn Dalley’s chapter ‘Chance Residues: photographs and social history’ in *Disputed Histories* raised points of discussion that are relevant to Coney’s work. Dalley argued that “for some types of information, photographs offer access to the past that other sources, especially written, seldom elucidate, or do not portray with such immediacy.”¹⁰⁶ The context of images was also important, as “photographs never speak for themselves, but need to be framed within their contexts if we are not to be seduced by the sense of realism they convey,” which Coney had achieved through her research and explanations provided for the images she included. Coney clearly had the connections to people, resources and self-knowledge that enabled

¹⁰¹ Coney, introduction to *Piha: A History in Images*, 7.

¹⁰² Sandra Coney, *The Piha Calendar 1996*. Folder 2. Ref: Eph-C-CALENDAR-1996-2 Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁰³ Coney, *Piha: A History in Images*, 6. The use of historic photographs was not just unique to Coney’s Piha history – they had been used in a variety of her works, most notably *I Do* and *Standing in the Sunshine*.

¹⁰⁴ Coney, *Piha: A History in Images*, 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁰⁶ Bronwyn Dalley, “Chance Residues: photographs and social history,” in *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand’s Pasts*, 169.

for the context of the Piha photographs to be explained.¹⁰⁷ Penny Tinkler also commented on this aspect and stated that “the contexts in which photos are encountered also include the circumstances in which people view, interpret and use photos.”¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Coney’s background at Piha provided a personal connection that also added some uniqueness to this history.

Sandra Coney’s representation of Piha in her historic accounts is fascinating. The inclusion of Maori and Pakeha in the history of Piha was noticeable, as “a number of Maori traditions are associated with the Piha area, explaining features of the wild and dramatic landscape.”¹⁰⁹ The influence of Pakeha in terms of land occupation were an important aspect of the development of the region, and Coney explained how a number of families fitted in with the Piha history story.¹¹⁰ The sense of the local community and the traditions associated with the Piha region were also an integral part of this history, and often this was represented as a masculine environment in regards to the working environment (timber work and the mill community;¹¹¹ the attitudes that existed in the past in regards to women as part of the Piha Surf Life Saving Club;¹¹² in *On the Radar* Coney included the story of the Women’s Auxiliary Air Force who were radar operators at Piha, and their gradual acceptance in that role.¹¹³) Other traditions and customs of this community included the family bach, social functions,¹¹⁴ and “Piha as a surfing mecca.”¹¹⁵ Coney noted:

Piha has long been a famous and iconic beach – something to do with its visual splendour, the bay guarded by two imposing rocky islands, the backdrop of dark forested hills...at the centre of all this is the surf club, with its history, iconography, traditions and heroic purpose – man pitted against the elements to safeguard human life.¹¹⁶

And in *On the Radar*, “the ancient and historic roles of this place in connecting with the heavens, and communicating over distance, of enabling humans to perform super

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 184. Sandra Coney’s publication *Cameron Johnson: First Artist of the West Coast of Auckland* (Auckland: Keyhole Press, 2010), also has relevance in this context because of the use of photographs/paintings.

¹⁰⁸ Penny Tinkler, *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2013), 25.

¹⁰⁹ Coney, *Piha: A History in Images*, 13.

¹¹⁰ For example: Sandra Coney, “The Lure of the Coast – Early Pakeha Land Owners,” in *Piha: A History in Images*, 14-27.

¹¹¹ Coney, “Conquering the Kauri – Timber Milling at Piha,” in *Piha: A History in Images*, 42-56.

¹¹² Coney, “Enter the Ladies,” in *Piha: Guardians of the Iron Sands*, 88-91.

¹¹³ Coney, *On the Radar*, 93-96.

¹¹⁴ Coney, *Piha: A History in Images*, 79-80, 100-104.

¹¹⁵ Coney, *Piha: Guardians of the Iron Sands*, 57.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 122.

human feats by harnessing the universe's unseen powers, are still central, even if the technology has changed.”¹¹⁷ Overall, Coney's Piha publications related to each other or overlapped in regards to certain aspects that were discussed or mentioned (the Piha Life Saving Club, the radar station, the history of this area). They are also individual in the sense that each publication had a more detailed focus on a certain aspect that may not have received as much close attention in another. And how Coney has achieved such work – subject matter, influence of such projects, the different way the history of Piha is portrayed – they are significant in their own right, but together create a great resource for being informed about this area of New Zealand history.

¹¹⁷ Coney, *On the Radar*, 189.

Conclusion

A feminist perspective of New Zealand society provides a deeper understanding of the position of New Zealand women, and accounts for the committed effort to improve gender equality. Chapter One conveyed how the second wave feminist movement (WLM) in New Zealand encapsulated the importance of questioning dominant ideals in society. Feminists questioned why women were oppressed and had a positive vision for society to change. It was a time where women used an amazing amount of collective action to stand up for their rights as people. Sandra Coney's scholarship offers an in-depth representation of this. A number of key themes that I observed during this analysis that are identifiable in each chapter, although more prominent in certain chapters, included the importance of: women's voices and experiences, women having authority over their own representation, a second wave feminist perspective of New Zealand society, and recovering the past and recording it for the future.

Women's voices and experiences were highly important, and the feminist spaces in which they could be expressed. The need for women's voices to be united in regards to their feminist work was emphasised on more than one occasion by Sandra Coney. Collective efforts were not always as efficient as they could have been, and feminists questioned the objectives of women in influential roles – whether their work would benefit women as a whole. Women's experiences were important in regards to health, which was a key area where Coney demonstrated an outlook that took into account women's experiences. As I researched Coney's scholarship, I learnt about the second wave feminist movement as a whole, as well as the nature of the work that her fellow feminists achieved. Chapter Two highlighted the value of feminist conversations published within *Broadsheet*. The work of feminists, such as Pat Rosier and Christine Dann, demonstrated a similarity in feminist thought to Coney and at times provided further context for Coney's scholarship.

It was important that feminists had authority over their own representation, especially in areas of concern for women. There was a constant challenge to correct wider societies' misperception of their work, which is why the interpretation of attitudes is important. The representation of difference came through clearly in Sandra Coney's thoughts on race relations and diversity. Hers was a central public perspective on race relations

within *Broadsheet*, and the articles she wrote in regards to this would have been thought-provoking at the time. Diversity caused moments of disarray within the movement at times, but a greater understanding of other perspectives would have resulted. The concept of ‘feminist backlash’ is also relevant here.

A second wave feminist perspective challenged dominant ideals and beliefs within New Zealand society, where the concerns of women were at the centre. The assessments that Sandra Coney made about New Zealand society, especially in the 1990s, demonstrated the changes in the environment that feminism existed within. This also allowed for an understanding of the context in which much of Coney’s scholarship developed. Coney has allowed for an understanding of the New Zealand society of the past through feminist eyes, and issues that were relevant at certain times. The position of women at various stages in the past can be measured through this scholarship, which also showed how engrained beliefs were about gender within society. Chapter Three began with an observation of feminism in the late 1980s and 1990s, which brought in discussions about the ‘New Right’ ideology. This provided further context for the discussion about women’s health.

Sandra Coney showed a high level of motivation to recover the past of New Zealand women, and to record it for the future. This scholarship represented the challenge of ensuring that New Zealand women’s history was not lost like it had been before. *Standing in the Sunshine* was a significant project at the time, and it has remained that way. It was not just about the past, but also making sure that women in the future could know of the efforts of the WL generation, of which Coney still expressed concern over in the ‘post-feminist’ era. Women’s history had more significance at certain times, and second wave feminists were able to use that in a positive way to celebrate the past, while keeping the reality of what was happening for women in that moment at the forefront. Coney’s scholarship discussed in Chapter Four, highlighted both the contribution towards the recovery of women’s history, and the challenges faced with this task.

In conclusion, Sandra Coney’s scholarship has given an insight into the progression of the feminist movement she was a part of, the challenge towards dominant ideals within New Zealand society, and the task of recovering the history of New Zealand women.

Appendix A: List of *Broadsheet* material relevant to the scholarship of Sandra Coney

Issue	Date	Author(s)	Article/Editorial/Review/Interview	Page(s)
1	July 1972	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Editorial’ – WL Kicking against the pricks	p. 1. p. 9.
2	August 1972	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 9.
3	September 1972	Sandra Coney	‘Liberation begins at home’	pp. 8-10.
4	October 1972	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 9.
5	November 1972	Sandra Coney, Hilary Haines, Kitty Wishart Sandra Coney, Hilary Haines	‘Alternatives’ Kicking against the pricks	pp. 4-7. p. 12.
6	February 1973	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Editorial: opPRESSed’ Kicking against the pricks	p. 1. p. 10.
7	March 1973	Sandra Coney, Hilary Haines Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Occupation ‘slushie’: or the seven most popular jobs for women’ Kicking against the pricks	pp. 3-5. p. 9.
8	April 1973	Sandra Coney, Hilary Haines Sandra Coney	‘Our Quest for Wonder Woman’ Kicking against the pricks	pp. 6-8. pp. 9, 12
9	May 1973	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 12.
10	June 1973	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 10.
11	July 1973	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Editorial: Broadsheet is Beautiful’ Kicking against the pricks	p. 2. p. 13.
12	August 1973	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 17.
13	September 1973	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Suffrage Day 1893-1973’ Kicking against the pricks	p. 13. p. 17.
14	October 1973	Sandra Coney	Kicking against the pricks	p. 15
15	November 1973	Sandra Coney	‘Editorial: Sex Mania?’	p. 2.

		Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, (Interviewers included Tiiu Mason, Giselle Barclay, Pip Priestly, Jenny Mackintosh, Lorraine Berry, Sharon Alston)	‘Letter’ – UWC and publicity ‘Everything you always wanted to know about housewives...but never bothered to ask’	p. 4. pp. 9-13.
16	February 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘sex games at the games’ Kicking against the pricks	p. 14. p. 15.
17	March 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Jill Calverley Sandra Coney	‘Editorial: are you screwing yourself up?’ ‘Radicalising Childbirth’ Kicking Against The Pricks	p. 5. pp. 13-15. p. 17.
18	April 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Mary Garlick, Wyn Hoadley	‘We visit Potiki Mana’ Kicking against the pricks	pp. 5-10, 14. p. 15.
19	May 1974	Sandra Coney	‘Editorial: Some new thoughts on bra-burning’	p. 2.
20	July 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Val Cole, Karen Butterworth	‘Introducing the new Broadsheet’ ‘Indoctrinating Infants’ Kicking against the pricks	p. 0. p. 14. pp. 36-37.
21	August 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Joan Simmons, Margaret Hudson	‘Rape: Demolishing the Myths’ Kicking Against The Pricks	pp. 18-22. pp. 36-37.
22	September 1974	Sandra Coney and Riemke Ensing	‘Riemke Ensing on women writers’	pp. 11-12.
23	October 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Flying Chauvinism’ ‘Who would be the best mayor for women?’ – Jim Anderton	pp. 26-28. p. 29.
25	December 1974	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Carolyn Lee	‘An examination of the place of women in the Bible and Christianity’ Kicking against the pricks	pp. 14-17. pp. 32-33.

27	March 1975	Sandra Coney, Sandi Hall	Kicking Against The Pricks	p. 36.
28	April 1975	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'The Continuing Saga of IWY' 'Talking to separated women'	pp. 6-7. pp. 26-29.
30	June 1975	Sandra Coney	'Abortion Drama'	pp. 18-19.
31	July 1975	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sharyn Cederman	'Consequences for Centre' 'Counselling makes ALL the difference' 'How BROADSHEET grew'	pp. 6-7. pp. 25-27, 36. pp. 30-35.
32	September 1975	Sandra Coney	'Film Festival'	pp. 36-37.
33	October 1975	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'Editorial: The Conservative Conspiracy' 'Right to Life Hysteria Outside Aotea Hospital' 'Television'	pp. 4-6. pp. 11-12. pp. 34-35.
35	December 1975	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'The Bobigny Trial' 'The Last Race' – a fiction piece 'Sex education books'	pp. 25-29, 40. pp. 20-24. pp. 36-37.
37	March 1976	Sandra Coney	'White Elephants'	pp. 8-9.
38	April 1976	Sandra Coney	'Invisible compensation for invisible people'	pp.14-17.
39	May 1976	Sandra Coney, Kaye Green, Margaret Wilson, Sandi Hall Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sharon Alston	'The PM's conference: Trying to change the unchangeable committee on women' 'Arson at Abortion Clinic' 'IWY: the bitter end'	pp. 6-8. pp. 12-13. pp. 16-19.
40	June 1976	Sandra Coney	'Just take a pill every day'	pp. 22-24.
42	September 1976	Sandra Coney	'Evasions of Equal Pay Act in UK'	pp. 10-11.
43	October 1976	Sandra Coney, Shona Abernathy, Sue Kedgley Sandra Coney	'Sue Kedgley on the leaderless movement' 'Women on Boards'	pp. 6-8. pp. 11-12.
44	November 1976	Sandra Coney, Val Cole and Marilyn Waring Sandra Coney	'Feminism is bigger than any political party consideration' Book review of <i>Herstory 1977</i> by The Dunedin Collective for Women	pp. 14-17 p. 34.

45	December 1976	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'Editorial' – sexual abuse 'The abortion protagonists'	pp. 10-11. pp. 24-27.
46	January 1977	Sandra Coney, Miriam Jackson Sandra Coney	'Feminist psychologist wins Zonta Award' 'Going down for air' – a fiction piece	pp. 9-10. pp. 20-24, 33.
48	April 1977	Sandra Coney	'Editorial: Human Rights Bill another placebo'	p. 12.
49	May 1977	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Joan Donley	'Editorial' - women and the church 'Brides of the State' 'Taking childbirth back'	pp. 10-11 pp.12-15, 32. pp. 22-23, 25.
50	June 1977	Sandra Coney	'Backstreet abortionists given royal charter'	pp. 8-10.
51	July 1977	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'Vicious attack on solo mothers, reductions in DPB' 'The Royal Commission Like King Canute'	pp. 6-8. pp. 12-14.
52	September 1977	Sandra Coney	'Family planning victim of hate campaigns'	pp. 26-27.
53	October 1977	Sandra Coney, Kaye Green and Margaret Wilson	'Balancing the scales'	p. 9.
54	November 1977	Sandra Coney	Book review of <i>New Zealand Herstory, 1978</i> by The Dunedin Collective for Women	p. 33.
55	December 1977	Sandra Coney, Christine Dann Sandra Coney, Christine Dann, Sonja Davies Sandra Coney	'Editorial' – assertiveness training 'Home Jane' 'Books you can bear to give your kids'	pp. 4-5, 23. pp. 6-9. pp. 26-30.
56	January 1978	Sandra Coney, Marilyn French, Jill Ranstead, Lyn Schnauer Sandra Coney	Interview: Marilyn French 'Broadsheet suggests interesting novels, short stories, poetry for holiday reading'	pp. 9-10. pp. 30-31.
57	March 1978	Sandra Coney	'The Pill/The IUD'	pp. 6-7.
58	April 1978	Sandra Coney	'The Tasman Traffic'	pp. 10-11.
59	May 1978	Sandra Coney	'Arson at SOS'	pp. 6-7, 9.
	September 1978	Author unknown	'Editorial: Suffrage Day – The Struggle Continues'	p. 8.
63	October 1978	Sandra Coney	'Editorial: Iconoclasts of the women's movement come out'	pp. 6-7.

			– you have nothing to lose but your silence’	
64	November 1978	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘How the Abortion Law Isn’t Working’ Untitled - “A boom in commercial women’s music...”	pp. 8-10, 19. pp. 34-35.
65	December 1978	Sandra Coney	Untitled - Commercial women’s music discussion continued	pp. 34-35
67	March 1979	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Behind the news: Pizzey’s Politics Re-examined’ ‘Family proceedings Bill – sticking plaster for fractured marriages’ ‘Pigs might fly’	pp. 6-7. p. 9. pp. 14-17, 39.
69	May 1979	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘The ‘Joy of Feminism’ Room is cancelled’ ‘Alienated Labour-Foetal Monitoring’	pp. 6-7 pp. 16-17, 38.
70	June 1979	Sandra Coney	‘Legislating for Innocence’	p. 5.
71	July/August 1979	Sandra Coney	‘A guide to consciousness-raising’	pp. 28-29.
72	September 1979	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	“‘I try to get the children to be sick in the weekend...’” ‘Interview: Debbie Filler music maker’	pp. 10-15. pp. 26-27.
74	November 1979	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Comment’ – Rape ‘Hunter-Ville raise hopes’	p. 5. pp. 6-7.
75	December 1979	Sandra Coney	‘Comment’ – Radical feminism	p. 32.
76	January/February 1980	Sandra Coney, Sandi, Clare, Lynda Topp, Jools Topp.	‘Lynda & Jools alias Home Made Jam’	pp. 24-26.
77	March 1980	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Experts disagree on rubella vaccine’ ‘Interview: Cherry Raymond’	p. 8. pp. 16-19, 27.
78	April 1980	Sandra Coney	‘Campaign Against Depo Formed’	p. 8.
79	May 1980	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Comment’ – Family Day Care ‘broadsheet abroad...reports on two women’s centres overseas’ – Rape Crisis Centres	pp. 6-7. pp. 28-30.
81	July/August 1980	Sandra Coney <i>Broadsheet</i> Collective Sandra Coney	‘Genital Mutilation’ ‘broadsheet’s collective’ ‘Films for Feminists in Film Festivals’	pp. 6-8. pp. 16-17. pp. 44-45.

82	September 1980	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Maggie Eyre Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Janet Moore	‘Seminar in the sun’ ‘Beyond fashion and into style’ – Interview: Maggie Eyre ‘Women at the Hustings’ – Interview: Sue Neal ‘Tantalising snippets, snipes and raves about films seen in this year’s Wellington and Auckland Film Festivals’ ‘The Ocean Beach Freezing Company V. The Women’	p. 11. p. 18. p. 24. pp. 34-35. pp. 6-7.
83	October 1980	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Letter’ –child custody ‘Comment: Mans laughter’	pp. 2-3 pp. 4-5.
84	November 1980	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Marie	‘Getting the run around’ ‘Mincemeat at Ocean Beach’ ‘When the dieting turns to starving: Anorexia’ - “Sandra Coney talked to Marie.”	pp. 6-7 p. 8. p. 22.
85	December 1980	Christine Dann Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Colleen Brown Sandra Coney	Comment – ‘A letter on “parochialism.”’ ‘Pulling the plug on tampons’ “‘A few problems being the only girl’” ‘Non-sexist children’s books’	p. 5. pp. 12-15. pp. 16-18. pp. 34-35.
87	March 1981	Sandra Coney	‘Letter’ – Family Day Care	pp. 2-3.
88	April 1981	Sandra Coney	‘Letter’ – Film reviews from a feminist perspective	p. 2.
89	May 1981	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Carmen Callil, Kate Griffin Sandra Coney	‘Letter’ – Family Day Care ‘A labour of love: The Virago Press Story’ ‘Meanwhile back in the USSR’	p. 3. pp. 16-19 pp. 22-24.
90	June 1981	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Hop’ ‘Does work make you sick?’	p. 8. pp. 10-13.
91	July/August 1981	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘Reconstituted milking of COW’ ‘Compulsory Pregnancy’ ‘Why Contraceptives Fail’	pp. 6-7. p. 7. pp. 38-41.
92	September 1981	Sandra Coney, Donna Awatere, Kitch Cuthbert, Rebecca Evans,	‘Women against the Tour’	pp. 9-11. pp. 26-27.

		Mereana Pitman Sandra Coney	‘Coalition Politics’	pp. 26-27.
94	November 1981	Sandra Coney	Book review of <i>New Zealand Herstory 1982</i> by the Tauranga Women’s Centre	p. 42.
96	January/February 1982	Sandra Coney	‘Four More Women in Parliament’	pp. 10-11.
97	March 1982	Sandra Coney	‘Who’s that under the hard hat?: Interviews with women in non-traditional jobs’ – Michelle Tohi (busdriver), Liz England (firefighter)	pp. 10-12.
98	April 1982	Sandra Coney, Rebecca Evans, Sharon Hawke, Lyn Schnauer Sandra Coney, coop members	‘The Bastion Point Thirteen’ ‘Co-ops Are Working’ - Just Desserts	pp. 6-8. pp. 22-23
99	May 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney and Sonja Davies Sandra Coney, Lindsay Williams	‘Comment: The Face of Protest in New Zealand 1982’ ‘The Davies Dossier’ ‘Harassed off the job’	p. 5. pp. 10-13. pp.16-19.
100	June 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sonja Davies	‘Is Big Sister Watching?’ ‘Evans attacked’ ‘The Davies Dossier’ (Part Two)	p. 6. pp. 6-7. pp.29-31.
101	July/August 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Camille Guy Sandra Coney, Vanya Shaw Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	‘A Rare Editorial’ ‘Letter’ – justice system ‘The Queen was not amused’ ‘Broadsheet 10 years on’ ‘Inside out’ ‘Feminists Flock to Film Festivals’	p. 0. p. 4. pp. 6-8. pp. 12-19. pp. 58 -61. pp. 76-78.
102	September 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sonja Davies Sandra Coney, Sue Neal, Sarah Calvert, Heather McLeish, Sue Lytollis	‘Female Nats still have stings’ “‘2” pickets a day’ ‘The Davies Dossier’ (Part Three)’ ‘Taking our pulse’	pp. 8-9. p. 9. pp. 24-27. pp. 28-29.

103	October 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sonja Davies Christine Dann	'Batons Today, Bonds Tomorrow' 'The scandal of the children's homes' 'The Davies Dossier' (Part Four) 'Letter' – Rape myths	p. 8. pp. 18-21. pp. 30-33. pp. 2-3.
104	November 1982	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Sonja Davies	'Inside Out: Mothers in Prison' and 'Prison Notebook' 'The Davies Dossier' (Part Five)	pp. 38-40. pp. 48-50.
105	December 1982	Sandra Coney	'Letter' – Rape Victims	p. 3.
107	March 1983	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Miriam Saphira, Uma	'Gray Justice' 'An interview with Uma'	pp. 6-7. pp. 18-21.
108	April 1983	Camille Guy Sandra Coney, Marti Friedlander	'Not Charlie's Angels' 'Photographing Rita Angus'	p. 6. pp. 22-23.
109	May 1983	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, "with friends" Sandra Coney	'Letter' - <i>Broadsheet's</i> visual issue 'News Headlines You'll Never See' 'Who Owns Birth?'	p. 3. p. 11. p. 9.
110	June 1983	Sandra Coney, Vanessa Allen	'Running away from home'	pp. 12-15.
111	July/August 1983	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'What do you think of feminism?' 'Louise faces down her foes' 'Rape victim' 'May 24: Can 20,000 Women be Wrong' – Sandra Coney	p. 0. pp. 7-8. p. 8. pp. 20-21.
112	September 1983	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'Dial-a-bang' 'Right to Life' 'Aucklanders Miss Wahine Toa'	p. 6. p. 9. p. 10.
114	November 1983	Sandra Coney	'Stop Press: Not Abortion Again'	p. 40.
115	December 1983	Sandra Coney	'Moraliser's Morals'	p. 8.
116	January/February 1984	Sandra Coney, Christine Dann, Sonja Davies	'Women's Work is nearly done'	pp. 10-15.
117	March 1984	Sandra Coney	'National Hui Wahine Maori'	p. 10
119	May 1984	Sandra Coney	'PMS'	pp. 26-29.

120	June 1984	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'A Rubbish Tin Called Special Needs' 'The Crown V Sharon Kroot'	p. 8. pp. 14-15.
121	July/August 1984	Sandra Coney	'Letter' – The Pill	p. 9.
122	September 1984	Sandra Coney	'New Women Members of Parliament'	pp. 16-17.
123	October 1984	Sandra Coney	'From Here to Maternity'	pp. 4-6.
124	November 1984	Sandra Coney, Ripeka Evans	'Proposed Maori Women's Secretariat'	pp. 6-7.
126	January/February 1985	Sandra Coney	'Forum Fever' – New Plymouth	p. 16.
127	March 1985	Sandra Coney	'Abortion Clinics Burn'	pp. 9-10.
128	April 1985	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney	'Dalkon Shield News' 'Amazons of the sea' 'Letter' – New Zealand Women's Health Network	pp. 9-10. pp. 14-19. pp.5, 47.
129	June 1985	Sandra Coney	'Dive magazine's Disgraceful Calendar'	p. 5.
131	July/August 1985	Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney Sandra Coney, Phillida Bunkle	'End of what?' 'A womb of one's own' 'Hang on a Minnitt...' 'Departmental Dynamite'	p. 2. pp. 5-6. p. 9. pp. 32-36.
133	October 1985	Sandra Coney, Pat Rosier, Jenny Rankine	Interview: 'Sandra Coney'	pp. 33-37.
135	December 1985	Sandra Coney	'Dalkon Shield Deadline'	pp. 6-7.
136	January/February 1986	Sandra Coney	'Dalkon Shield Update'	p. 9.
137	March 1986	Sandra Coney	'A Pain the Womb'	pp. 14-18.
138	April 1986	Sandra Coney	'Letter' – Women's cricket	p. 2.
139	May 1986	Sandra Coney	'Challenging Broadsheet' – letter	pp. 36-37.
142	September 1986	Sandra Coney	'Sponging approval'	pp. 8-9.
143	October 1986		Advertisement for <i>Every Girl</i> by Sandra Coney	p. 42.
144	November 1986	Margot Roth	Review of <i>Every Girl</i> by Sandra Coney	pp. 42-43.
146	January/February 1987	Sandra Coney Jenny Rankine	'Beaming in on cervical cancer' 'IUDs – Doctors Move an Inch'	pp. 12-14. pp. 5-7.
147	March 1987	Sandra Coney	'How Not to Conceive'	pp. 24-29.

151	August/September 1987	Jenny Rankine	'Experimenting on Women'	pp. 9-10..
152	October 1987	Pat Rosier	'Screening the Doctors'	pp. 6-7.
153	November 1987	Pat Rosier	'Herspective' 'The Speculum Bites Back'	p. 2. pp. 5-6.
154	December 1987	Pat Rosier	'It Wasn't My Fault'	pp. 5-7
155	January/February 1988	Pat Rosier	'Listen To The Women'	pp. 5-8.
156	March 1988	Pat Rosier	'Cervical Cancer Inquiry – Over to the Judge'	pp. 10-11.
157	April 1988	Pip Priestly	'Letter' – Cervical Cancer Inquiry	p. 3.
161	September 1988	Pat Rosier Pat Rosier	'A Feminist Victory' Book review of <i>The Unfortunate Experiment</i> by Sandra Coney	pp. 6-8. pp. 12-13.
162	October 1988	Lisa Sabbage	'A Spur to Action'	p. 8.
167	April 1989	Pat Rosier Alison McCulloch	'Following the follow-up' 'Column'	p. 7. p. 11.
170	July/August 1989	Sandra Coney	'Take the power from the docs'	pp. 24-27.
175	January/February 1990	Pat Rosier, Clare Matheson	""Ruth"" tells her story'	pp. 5-6.
178	May 1990	Sandra Coney	'Breast Cancer – the women's health dilemma of the 1990's'	p. 12.
179	June/July 1990	Auckland Women's Health Council Pat Kipping	'Beyond Cartwright' 'New Health books' – book review of <i>Hysterectomy</i> by Sandra Coney Advertisement for <i>Out of the Frying Pan</i> by Sandra Coney	p. 8. p. 36. p. 38.
180	August 1990	Pat Rosier	'sneer journalism'	pp. 6-7.
181	September 1990	Ruth Henderson	'Herspective'	p. 2.
183	November/December 1990	Pat Rosier Pat Rosier	'Auckland Women's Health Council – Witch Hunt' 'Metro Article Rebutted'	pp. 6-7. pp. 7-8.
184	January/February 1991	Sandra Coney Pat Rosier	Letter – 'Call for Contributions' 'Bonham Censured. Cartwright Follow-Up Inadequate'	p. 3. p. 8.

185	March 1991	Pat Rosier	'National Cervical Screening Programme'	p. 7.
190	August 1991	Pat Rosier	'Delivering Feminist Health Services'	pp. 5-6.
191	September 1991	Megan Fidler Ruth Henderson Pat Rosier	'Cervical Cancer Campaign' 'August 5 – The Cartwright Report Three Years On' 'Ruthless and Ship-Wrecked – The Budget'	p. 9. p. 13. pp. 4-5.
192	Summer/ Raumati 1991/1992	Aorewa McLeod Lisa Sabbage Phillida Bunkle	Book review of <i>The Menopause Industry</i> by Sandra Coney 'Now Screening' 'She'll not be right any more...'	p. 53. p. 7. pp. 32-36.
193	Autumn/Ngahuru 1992	Clare Bear Pat Rosier	'Alice in ACC-Land' Book review of <i>The Book of New Zealand Women/ Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa</i> by Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams	pp. 31-34. pp. 50-52.
194	Winter/Hotoke 1992	Athina Tsoulis	Book review of <i>My Father and Me: New Zealand Women Remember</i> by Penelope Hansen	p. 43.
195	Spring/Kōanga 1992	<i>Broadsheet</i> Collective	'Herspective'	p. 2.
196	Summer/Raumati 1992	Sue Bradford	'New Zealand Divided'	pp. 12-15.
198	Winter/Hotoke 1993	Heather Worth	'Taking pot-shots at the "girls"'	pp. 38-40.
199	Spring 1993	Pat Rosier	'Nelson Notes'	p. 22.
200	Summer 1993	Sandra Coney, Annie Goslyn Author unknown Christine Dann Debbie Hager Georgina Kirby Author unknown Alistair Nisbet Caroline Daley Anne Else and Mary Varnham	'A Shade of Sandra' 'Working Titles: books that shaped New Zealand' 'We made it political' 'A Challenge to White Decision Making' 'The New Petition' 'reclaim the night' '1993 – What women have to celebrate in Suffrage Year' Book review of <i>Standing in the Sunshine</i> by Sandra Coney 'Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand'	pp. 28-30. p. 10. p. 31. p. 14. pp. 15-16. p. 6. p. 13. pp. 54-55. pp. 34-35.
201	Autumn 1994	Aorewa McLeod	Book review of <i>Unfinished Business</i> edited by Sandra	p. 54.

		Anne Else	Coney Letter – ‘Careless Reporting’	p. 3.
202	Winter 1994	Debbie Hager	‘cervical cancer: another guilt trip’	pp. 22-23.
204	Summer/Raumati 1994	Phillida Bunkle	‘Women and the Health Reforms’	pp. 36-41.
206	Winter/Hotoke 1995	Sandra Coney	‘Mid-life Woman’s Right to Choose, or Collective Threat to Women’s Health and Wellbeing? The Feminist response to hormone replacement therapy.’	pp. 25-30.
208	Summer/Raumati 1995	Lisa Howard-Smith	Book review of <i>I Do</i> by Sandra Coney	p. 57.
211	Spring/Kōanga 1996	Fritha Parkes	Book review of <i>Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed</i> edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein	pp. 61-62.
212	Quarterly Summer/ Raumati 1996	Claire-Louise McCurdy Author unknown	Book review of <i>Feeling Fabulous</i> by Sandra Coney ‘New Zealand <i>feminism</i> alive and well at your local women’s centre’ – Women’s Health Action Auckland	p. 61. pp. 35-36.
213	Quarterly Autumn/ Ngahuru 1997	Author unknown The <i>Broadsheet</i> Collective	‘A Women’s Health Research Centre for New Zealand?’ ‘Dear <i>Broadsheet</i> reader’	p. 6. p. 2.
214	Quarterly Winter/ Hotoke 1997	Sandra Coney	‘Looking back...’ – <i>A farewell to Broadsheet and all who have sailed on her</i>	p. 61.

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